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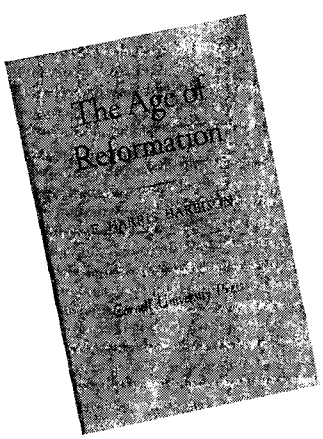
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The
AMERICAN
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Anarchism and the Assassination of McKinley

SIDNEY FINE

WRITING in the *Outlook* of August 10, 1901, just one month prior to the assassination of President William McKinley, the newspaper correspondent Francis H. Nichols noted that since the assassination of King Humbert of Italy by the anarchist Bresci the question had been many times asked in the United States as to whether the nation's government and the President were themselves secure from anarchist attack.[1] Few though they were in number in the United States in the closing decades of the nineteenth century,[2] the anarchists, as Nichols suggests, were viewed with alarm by the American community. Anarchism was regarded as "the most dangerous theory which civilization has ever had to encounter," and the anarchist ranks, it was thought, were filled by common criminals and psychopaths

[1] Nichols, "The Anarchists in America," *Outlook*, LXVIII (Aug. 10, 1901), 863.

[2] The historian Herbert L. Osgood thought that there were probably not more than ten thousand anarchists of all types in the United States in 1889. If anything, this estimate exaggerated anarchist strength. The grand jury impaneled to consider the Haymarket bombing reported that it had learned that the total number of anarchists in the United States who could be considered dangerous was less than one hundred and probably not more than forty or fifty. Osgood, "Scientific Anarchism," *Political Science Quarterly*, IV (March, 1889), 30; Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair: A Study in the American Social-Revolutionary and Labor Movements* (New York, 1936), p. 229.

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who were prepared to resort to fire and the sword to subvert the social order and to murder public officials.[3]

In part, the American fear of anarchism was based on a lack of understanding as to the real nature of the anarchist doctrine. American writers on the subject of anarchism commonly failed to discriminate between individualist anarchists, who were, for the most part, native in origin and believed in free competition and private property (insofar as this term applied to the "total product of a given individual's labor"), and communist anarchists, who arrived late on the American scene, were generally of Russian or German origin, and favored the "collective autonomous commune." Of greater importance, there was little recognition of the fact that violence was not an integral part of the anarchist doctrine and that although some, but by no means all, communist anarchists advocated the use of force to overthrow the state, the individualist anarchists placed their faith in education and passive resistance and were unequivocally opposed to the propaganda of the deed.[4] "When we speak of the 'anarchist,'" Carl Schurz declared, "we mean to designate with that name a human being who is in a general way the enemy of all that exists, and who seeks to overthrow it by any means, however criminal and atrocious."[5] Gustavo Tosti conceded that a few anarchists were guilty of nothing more than "speculative intoxication," but these doctrinaires, he insisted, were scattered among "a mob of desperate criminals," and the anarchist theory itself was simply an "impulsive suggestion to crime."[6]

The popular view of anarchism and anarchists was the product to a considerable extent of a series of spectacular acts of violence perpetrated by, or attributed to, anarchists in Europe and the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In Europe, following the death in 1876 of Michael Bakunin, redoubtable advocate of pan-destruction, social-revolutionary and communist-anarchist leaders concluded that action was more

[3] See, for example, Richard T. Ely, "Anarchy," *Harper's Weekly*, XXXVII (Dec. 23, 1893), 1226; Jno. Gilmer Speed, "Anarchists in Hard Times," *Outlook*, XLVIII (Nov. 11, 1893), 840–41; Carl Schurz, "Murder as a Political Agency," *Harper's Weekly*, XLI (Aug. 28, 1897), 847; Gustavo Tosti, "Anarchistic Crimes," *Political Science Quarterly*, XIV (September, 1899), 404, 412–17; and Ernst Victor Zenker, *Anarchism: A Criticism and History of the Anarchist Theory* (New York, 1897), pp. iv–v.

[4] On the nature of anarchism, see James J. Martin, *Men against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827–1908* (De Kalb, Ill., 1953), pp. 4–7, 277–78; Eunice Minette Schuster, *Native American Anarchism: A Study of Left-Wing American Individualism*, Smith College Studies in History, XVII (Northampton, Mass., 1931–32), pp. 87–92, 158–63; Zenker, p. 306; Osgood, pp. 18–30; and Victor S. Yarros, "Individualist or Philosophical Anarchism," in William D. P. Bliss, ed., *The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (new ed.; New York, 1908), pp. 41–45.

[5] Schurz, "Murder as a Political Agency," p. 847.

[6] Tosti, "Anarchistic Crimes," pp. 413–14.

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important than words in making known the aims of anarchism and in arousing a "spirit of insurrection" and thus in preparing the masses for revolution. The propaganda of words came to be overshadowed by the propaganda of the deed, with the result that the bloody acts of anarchists "became the talk and, to a degree, the terror of the world." Anarchist violence in Europe reached its height in the last decade of the nineteenth century when Vaillant attempted to dynamite the French Chamber of Deputies and President Carnot of France, Prime Minister Canovas del Castillo of Spain, Empress Elizabeth of Austria, and King Humbert of Italy all lost their lives to anarchist assassins.[7]

In the United States social revolutionaries who were gravitating in the direction of communist anarchism found a leader in 1882 when Johann Most arrived in this country from England. Most was at the time an uncompromising advocate of the propaganda of the deed and was soon to author a pamphlet with the horrendous title, *Science of Revolutionary Warfare: A Manual of Instructions in the Use and Preparation of Nitroglycerine, Dynamite, Gun-Cotton, Fulminating Mercury, Bombs, Fuses, Poisons, etc., etc.* With Most taking the lead, the social revolutionaries met in congress in Pittsburgh in October, 1883, established the International Working People's Association, and issued a manifesto calling for the "Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, i.e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action."[8] It seemed to many Americans that the anarchists had indeed gone over to the attack when on May 4, 1886, a bomb exploded in Chicago's Haymarket Square killing one policeman and wounding seventy others, of whom six eventually died. Eight Chicago anarchists who were members of the I.W.P.A. were indicted for this act of murder, and, although the bomb-thrower was not identified, all eight were found guilty.[9]

More than any other event the Haymarket affair conditioned Americans to equate anarchism with violence and murder. As the historian of Haymarket has noted, this incident of terror fixed in the American mind the stereotype of the anarchist as "a ragged, unwashed, long-haired, wild-eyed fiend, armed with smoking revolver and bomb—to say nothing of the dagger he sometimes carried between his teeth."[10] The popular image of the anarchist became even sharper at the time of the Homestead strike of 1892 when

[7] Paul Eltzbacher, *Anarchism*, trans. Steven T. Byington (New York, 1908), pp. 132–38, 178–79; Robert Hunter, *Violence and the Labor Movement* (New York, 1914), pp. 47–60, 77–87; David, *Haymarket Affair*, pp. 62–68.

[8] David, pp. 54–107; Charles A. Madison, *Critics and Crusaders: A Century of American Protest* (New York, 1947), pp. 166–68.

[9] David's *Haymarket Affair* is by far the best account of this subject.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 528. See also Martin, *Men against the State*, pp. 3–4, 6, 9; and Madison, pp. 169–70.

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the Russian-born communist anarchist Alexander Berkman shot and stabbed Henry Clay Frick in a futile effort to call attention to what the assailant regarded as the wrongs of capitalism and the unfortunate plight of the workingman.[11] It mattered not that individualist anarchists deplored these acts of violence, that not all communist anarchists approved the use of force, and that even Johann Most in 1892 repudiated the propaganda of the deed in a country such as the United States.[12] To many Americans at the turn of the century it appeared that the crazed adherents of anarchism, however few their number, would stop at nothing to achieve their revolutionary ends.

The worst fears of Americans as regards anarchism seemed to be confirmed when on September 6, 1901, President William McKinley was fatally shot by a professed anarchist, Leon F. Czolgosz.[13] The assassin signed a confession in which he stated that he had killed the President because he regarded it as his duty to do so. He informed doctors who examined him that he had studied anarchism for several months, that he did not believe that there should be any "rulers," that he understood perfectly well what he was doing when he shot the President, and that he was willing to take the consequences.[14]

Although the assassin's connections with anarchism were of the most tenuous sort and although insanity rather than anarchism may have prompted his actions,[15] there was a general disposition among a public conditioned to think of anarchism in terms of Haymarket and Berkman's attack on Frick to hold anarchism itself responsible for the death of the President and to view Czolgosz as but the instrument of an alien and noxious doctrine

[11] Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* (1-vol. ed.; New York, 1934), pp. 87–88.

[12] *Freiheit,* Aug. 27, 1892.

[13] McKinley was operated upon less than an hour after he was shot, staged a brief recovery, but died on September 14. For accounts of the assassination, see Louis L. Babcock, "An Account of the Assassination of President McKinley and the Trial of Czolgosz," Buffalo Historical Society *Museum Notes,* I (September–October, 1931), 2–12; Charles S. Olcott, *The Life of William McKinley* (Boston, 1916), II, 313–33; and Robert J. Donovan, "The Man Who Didn't Shake Hands," *New Yorker,* XXIX (Nov. 28, 1953), 88 ff.

[14] Babcock, pp. 10–11; Vernon L. Briggs, *The Manner of Man That Kills: Spencer-Czolgosz-Richeson* (Boston, 1921), pp. 242–46; New York *Daily Tribune,* Nov. 3, 1901.

[15] The doctors who examined Czolgosz at the time declared that he was sane, but the more extensive investigations conducted by Doctors Channing and Briggs after Czolgosz' execution suggest insanity as a more likely explanation for the crime. The subject is discussed in the following: Carlos F. MacDonald, "The Trial, Execution, Autopsy and Mental Status of Leon F. Czolgosz, Alias Fred Nieman, the Assassin of President McKinley. With a Report of the Post-Mortem Examination by Edward Anthony Spitzka," *Journal of Mental Pathology,* I (December, 1901–January, 1902), 185–94; Briggs, pp. 332–39; Walter Channing, "The Mental Status of Czolgosz, the Assassin of President McKinley," *American Journal of Insanity,* LIX (October, 1902), 268–78; Charles Hamilton Hughes, "Medical Aspects of the Czolgosz Case," *Alienist and Neurologist,* XXIII (January, 1902), 49; G. Frank Lydston, *The Diseases of Society* (5th ed.; Philadelphia, London, 1908), pp. 253–54; Allen McLane Hamilton, *Recollections of an Alienist, Personal and Professional* (New York, 1916), pp. 363, 365–66. For Czolgosz' ties with anarchism, see Briggs, pp. 284–85, 299, 316–22; Channing, pp. 245–52; Goldman, *Living My Life,* pp. 289–91; and Cleveland *Press,* Sept. 7, 1901.

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that regarded assassination as a legitimate weapon to employ against government and constituted authority.[16] It was therefore deemed necessary not merely to try and to execute the assassin,[17] as was promptly done, and to apprehend those who might have conspired with him, but to take action against resident anarchists in general, since they were all, in effect, accessories to the crime.

Buffalo police authorities let it be known soon after Czolgosz was apprehended that they were quite certain that fellow anarchists had aided him in the planning and execution of the crime.[18] Suspicion immediately centered upon Emma Goldman, the high priestess of the communist anarchists, and the group of Chicago anarchists associated with the publication of *Free Society,* the leading English-language communist-anarchist periodical in the United States. Czolgosz had heard Emma speak in Cleveland on May 5, 1901, and had been so impressed with her that he had sought her out in Chicago and had spoken to her briefly on July 12, 1901, as she was leaving the city. Miss Goldman introduced him to some of her Chicago anarchist friends, including Abe Isaak, Sr., editor of *Free Society.* Isaak invited Czolgosz to his home and promised to find him lodgings and a job but was unable to comply with his request for funds.[19] Although this was the last either Miss Goldman or Isaak saw of Czolgosz and although Isaak apparently came to suspect Czolgosz as a possible spy and so informed the readers of his journal on September 1, 1901, five days before the attack on McKinley, Buffalo authorities nevertheless suspected them of complicity in the assassination and requested their arrest.[20]

On the night of the assassination Chicago police arrested Abe Isaak, Sr., his wife, his son, and his daughter, and five other Chicago anarchists. All were charged with conspiracy to kill the President, although only Isaak Sr.'s

[16] See, for example, New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 8, 1901; Philadelphia *Press,* Sept. 16, 19, 1901; *Literary Digest,* XXIII (Oct. 5, 1901), 391; *Public,* IV (Sept. 28, 1901), 388; George Gunton, "Can We Stamp Out Anarchy?" *Gunton's Magazine,* XXI (October, 1901), 349-50; Murat Halstead, *The Illustrious Life of William McKinley Our Martyred President* (n.p., 1901), pp. 98–99, 257; *Review of Reviews,* XXIV (October, 1901), 389; Theodore L. Jouffroy, "Warnings and Teachings of the Church on Anarchism," *Catholic World,* LXXIV (November, 1901), 203; and Charles P. Neill, "Anarchism," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* XXVII (January, 1902), 173, 178–79.

[17] For accounts of Czolgosz' trial, see New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 24, 25, 1901; MacDonald, "Trial of Czolgosz," pp. 181–84; and Halstead, pp. 450–61.

[18] New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 8, 1901; Detroit *News-Tribune,* Sept. 8. 1901; Detroit *Evening News,* Sept. 11, 1901.

[19] Goldman, *Living My Life,* pp. 290–91; *Free Society,* Oct. 6, 1901; Channing, "Mental Status of Czolgosz," pp. 247–51; Briggs, *Manner of Man That Kills,* pp. 316–19. In her Cleveland speech, Emma denied that anarchists favored violence but declared that she did not wish to condemn too severely the crimes which some anarchists had committed because of the high motives that had inspired these crimes. Cleveland *Plain Dealer,* May 6, 1901.

[20] *Free Society,* Sept. 1, Oct. 6, 1901. Czolgosz was not mentioned by name in the September 1 warning.

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arrest had been requested by Buffalo. The following day the number of prisoners was raised to twelve with the arrest of three more anarchists then residing in Chicago. The prisoners were arraigned on September 9, 1901; the men were remanded for ten days without bail, and the women, of whom there were three, were first allowed to bail and then later in the day released.[21]

The bag of anarchist prisoners in Chicago was increased by one on September 10 with the arrest of Emma Goldman. Miss Goldman had been in St. Louis when news arrived that McKinley had been slain, that her Chicago friends were under arrest, and that she herself was wanted by the Chicago police for alleged participation in a conspiracy to assassinate the President. Apparently deciding to give herself up, Emma entrained for Chicago, arrived there on September 9, and was apprehended the following morning.[22]

Miss Goldman was arraigned on September 11, but bail was refused her pending a decision on a plea for writs of habeas corpus already initiated by attorneys for the Chicago anarchists. Hearings on the latter matter and on the conspiracy charge were several times postponed, chiefly because of the failure of Buffalo authorities to supply any supporting evidence. Bail was eventually fixed on September 18 at $15,000 for the Isaak group and at $20,000 for Emma. The hearings on the conspiracy charge were finally held on September 23, but since the Buffalo police had been unable to produce any evidence of conspiracy or to find any grounds for requesting extradition, the prisoners had to be released.[23]

In addition to the arrest of the Chicago anarchists and Emma Goldman, the theory that McKinley had been assassinated as a result of an anarchist conspiracy led to the apprehension of Antonio Maggio, Carl Nold, and Harry Gordon. Maggio was rumored to have predicted some time prior to Czolgosz' act that McKinley would be assassinated by October 1, 1901. After the assassination, Maggio was arrested in the territory of New Mexico by a United States marshal and bound over to a federal court on a charge of conspiracy to murder, but he was subsequently released.[24] Gordon and Nold were arrested in Pittsburgh on September 9 on request from Buffalo. Gordon had been Emma Goldman's host when she had visited Pittsburgh late in August, 1901, and Carl Nold was not only an associate of Emma's but had previously been imprisoned for complicity in Alexander Berkman's

[21] Chicago *Tribune*, Sept. 7, 8, 9, 10, 1901; *Free Society*, Oct. 6, 1901.

[22] Goldman, pp. 295–304; Chicago *Tribune*, Sept. 11, 1901. Emma claimed in her autobiography that she had planned to give the Chicago *Tribune* an exclusive interview for $5,000 before giving herself up and expected to use the money to fight the case. Goldman, p. 298.

[23] Goldman, pp. 305–11; Chicago *Tribune*, Sept. 12, 13, 14, 19, 24, 25, 1901; *Free Society*, Oct. 6, 1901.

[24] Chicago *Tribune*, Sept. 10, 13, 15, 1901; New York *Daily Tribune*, Sept. 9, 13, 14, 1901, Apr. 13, 1902.

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attack on Frick. Both men were released on September 11 for lack of evidence.[25]

Because Czolgosz' deed served to make an always unpopular doctrine still more unpopular, even anarchists who were not suspected by police authorities of actual participation in a conspiracy to assassinate McKinley were placed in a difficult position. Most prominent among the anarchists who although not charged with any direct complicity in the President's assassination nevertheless felt the sting of the law as its consequence was the fiery communist anarchist, Johann Most. Most, who had several times been jailed both in Europe and America for his revolutionary utterances, was this time the victim of an embarrassing coincidence. In the September 7 issue of his journal, *Freiheit,* an issue which had been printed on September 5 and distributed on September 6 several hours before the assassination, he had included as filler material a piece entitled "Mord contra Mord" (Murder against Murder) which consisted of extracts from articles published in 1849 by the German revolutionary Karl Heinzen in which the latter accepted tyrannicide as the "'chief means of historical progress.'" "The greatest of all follies in the world," the *Freiheit* extract declared, "is the belief that there can be a crime of any sort against despots. . . . Despots are outlaws . . . to spare them is a crime. . . . We say murder the murderers. Save humanity through blood, poison and iron." Most, who had used Heinzen's articles as filler material before, noted parenthetically that the views therein expressed were "still true today."[26]

When Most learned of the assassination of McKinley, he ordered the withdrawal from circulation of the issue of *Freiheit* in question; but a few copies had already been sold, and Most's troubles had begun. He was arrested on September 12 and jailed and four days later was ordered by a New York City police court magistrate to stand trial in the Court of Special Sessions.[27] Within a few days Most was back in jail, this time having been arrested at a picnic on a charge of inciting to riot. The complaint was dismissed, however, when it turned out that the only evidence in the possession of the prosecution was a large red flag seized at the place of the arrest.[28]

Exonerated of one charge, Most now had to stand trial for his publication of the Heinzen article. He was charged with the violation of Section 675

[25] Philadelphia *Press,* Sept. 12, 1901; Chicago *Tribune,* Sept. 10, 12, 1901.

[26] *Freiheit,* Sept. 7, 1901; Morris Hillquit, *Loose Leaves from a Busy Life* (New York, 1934), pp. 123–25; Rudolf Rocker, *Johann Most: Das Leben Eines Rebellen* (Berlin, 1924), pp. 401–403; Carl Wittke, *Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen (1809–1880)* (Chicago, 1945), pp. 73–75.

[27] *Freiheit,* Sept. 21, 1901; Hillquit, p. 125; New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 13, 14, 15, 17, 1901.

[28] *Freiheit,* Sept. 28, Oct. 5, 1901; New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 24, 30, Oct. 1, 3, 1901.

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of New York's penal code, a catch-all section which made it a misdemeanor to commit an act which "seriously" disturbed "the public peace" or "openly" outraged "public decency" and for which no other punishment was provided in the code. Most's attorney, the socialist Morris Hillquit, argued that the Heinzen piece was directed against kings rather than against the elected officials of a democracy, that it was over fifty years old, and that it had been reprinted many times. His client's freedom of the press, he insisted, was being abridged by the application of the vague terms of Section 675.[29]

Unimpressed by Hillquit's argument, Justice Hinsdale on October 14 sentenced Most to one-year imprisonment on Blackwell's Island. The justice pointed out that Section 675 was applicable to the teachings of anarchy, which he defined as "the doctrine that the pistol, the dagger and dynamite may be used to destroy rulers." It was unnecessary, Hinsdale asserted, to prove any connection between the publication of the article and the assassination of McKinley: the offense was the same as if the latter had never occurred since the advocacy of crime was in itself a crime irrespective of whether there was any connection between the advocacy and an overt act.[30]

The decision of the lower court was upheld on appeal by both the appellate division of the Supreme Court[31] and the Court of Appeals. Speaking for the Court of Appeals, Justice Vann argued that the article in question "held forth murder as a duty and exhorted . . . readers to practice it upon their rulers." "The courts," Vann added significantly, "cannot shut their eyes to the fact that there are elements in our population, small in number but reckless and aggressive, who are ready to act on such advice and to become the assassins of those whom the people have placed in authority." The justice also pointed out that although the New York constitution guaranteed the freedom of the press, it specifically exempted abuses of this right and certainly did not authorize the publication of articles like the Heinzen piece.[32] Sentence was pronounced on June 20, 1902, and thus a chain of events whose most important link was the assassination of McKinley by an avowed anarchist ended in the imprisonment for one year of Johann Most.[33]

[29] Hillquit, pp. 125–27.

[30] People *v.* John Most, 16 N. Y. Crim. Reports (1903), 105–11; New York *Daily Tribune*, Oct. 15, 1901.

[31] People *v.* Most, 71 App. Div. N. Y. 160 (1902); *Freiheit*, Apr. 19, 1902.

[32] People *v.* Most, 171 N. Y. 423 (1902), 428–32. "Most was convicted," Hillquit wrote, "not so much because of the fortuitous and ill-timed reprint of the hoary Heinzen article as for his general anarchist propaganda." Hillquit, p. 127.

[33] Before the Court of Appeals handed down its decision, Most once again found himself in the toils of the law. At a farewell meeting called in his honor, he applauded the anarchist William McQueen's attack on government in general and the United States government in particular. He was arrested when the meeting was over but was released three days later. *Freiheit*, May 10, 1902; Rocker, *Most*, p. 413; *Free Society*, May 18, 1902.

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Anti-anarchist sentiment also made itself felt in the Pacific Northwest, where the object of disapprobation was the small anarchist colony of Home, in Pierce County, Washington. Following the President's assassination, Tacoma newspapers directed a storm of abuse at the little colony, and it appeared for a time as if steps would be taken to destroy it. The Tacoma *Ledger* equated anarchy with crime and assassination and refused to print a letter from James F. Morton, one of the leading figures of the colony and the editor of its journal, *Discontent,* which set forth the peaceful character of the individualist anarchists. In a front-page headline of September 11, the Tacoma *Evening News* asked the question, "Shall Anarchy and Free Love Live in Pierce County?" and, as if to answer this query, a Loyal League was formed in the county whose announced object was "the annihilation of anarchists and Anarchism."[34]

Although violence was avoided, Home Colony was nevertheless subjected at this time to a series of petty persecutions by public authorities which must be viewed in the light of the prevailing sentiment as regards anarchism. Shortly after the assassination the federal government, in two separate actions, brought several members of the colony to trial for violation of the Comstock Act;[35] and, in addition, postal authorities took steps to impede the dissemination of the colony's journal. Efforts in the latter direction culminated in the abolition of the Home post office on April 30, 1902, and in the forced suspension of further publication of *Discontent.*[36]

The desire of Pierce County inhabitants to purge the anarchists from their midst was shared by the residents of the little coal-mining town of Spring Valley, Illinois, which numbered some three hundred to five hundred anarchists among its population of seven thousand and according to at least one Chicago newspaper was "the banner anarchist city of the United States."[37] Like most of the town's inhabitants, the anarchists were Italian in origin and, like many of the foreign-language anarchist groups in the United States, accepted violence as a legitimate method of furthering the anarchist cause. Their organ, *L'Aurora,* extolled Czolgosz' deed, and *L'Aurora*'s editor, Ciancabilla, hailed Czolgosz as a martyr. This was more than Spring Valley's nonanarchist inhabitants could bear, and it was therefore

[34] E. E. Slosson, "An Experiment in Anarchy," *Independent,* LV (Apr. 2, 1903), 779–85; *Discontent,* Sept. 25, Oct. 2, 1901; Tacoma *Evening News,* Sept. 11, 1901. Morton was a *summa cum laude* graduate of Harvard and the grandson of the Rev. S. F. Smith, author of "America."

[35] As amended in 1876 the Comstock Act provided penalties for sending through the mails printed materials or pictures of an indecent character.

[36] For the details with respect to these matters, see *Discontent,* Nov. 13, 20, Dec. 18, 1901, Jan. 1, Mar. 19, 26, Apr. 23, 30, 1902; and *Lucifer,* Aug. 7, 1902. Home was without an official journal until March 11, 1903, when the *Demonstrator* made its first appearance.

[37] (Chicago) *Sunday Inter Ocean,* Sept. 29, 1901.

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decided at a mass meeting of September 21 to suppress *L'Aurora* and to drive its editor from town. After the meeting a delegation went to wreck the offices of the journal only to find that the equipment had been removed to one of the nearby coal mines. A few days later Ciancabilla was ordered to leave the community, but he refused to do so. However, he was arrested on September 27 by a United States deputy marshal on a charge of publishing lottery advertisements in his journal and thereby violating postal regulations. He was jailed when unable to provide $5,000 bail and was eventually fined $100. Pressed for funds, *L'Aurora* was forced to suspend publication, and its editor went to work for *Free Society*.[38]

Throughout the United States in the days and months after McKinley's assassination anarchists were made the objects of vilification and abuse and sometimes of outright violence. On the night of September 15 a band of thirty armed men raided the anarchist settlement of Guffey Hollow, Pennsylvania, and forced twenty-five anarchist families to leave the area.[39] The same night a mob attacked the office of the New York Yiddish-language anarchist organ, *Freie Arbeiter Stimme,* did considerable damage to property, and caused those present in the office to flee for their lives.[40] Cleveland police suppressed the meetings of the Liberty Association, the anarchist group before which Emma Goldman had delivered the speech that Czolgosz claimed had influenced him.[41] The Ithaca *Journal* advised inhabitants of Ithaca to boycott Henry Bool, a well-to-do local furniture dealer and individualist anarchist, and both the *Journal* and the Ithaca *Daily News* refused to print communications from Bool which set forth the nonviolent character of individualist anarchists. "We all hold you in the highest esteem and believe you to be absolutely honorable and honest in your convictions," the business manager of the *Daily News* informed Bool, "but the public pulse, at the present time, will not stand anything in the line of the doctrine of anarchy."[42]

In Rochester, where Emma Goldman's family resided and where Emma was an occasional visitor, Justice Davy of the New York Supreme Court ordered a grand-jury investigation of the city's one hundred anarchists and directed that "every person found to be a member of the local society was

[38] *Ibid.; Free Society,* Oct. 6, Dec. 22, 1901; *Discontent,* Jan. 1, 15, 1902; Halstead, *McKinley,* p. 77; Chicago *Tribune,* Sept. 16, 22, 28, 1901.

[39] Halstead, p. 83; New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 18, 1901.

[40] *Freie Arbeiter Stimme,* Sept. 20, 1901, Feb. 16, 1951.

[41] *Free Society,* Dec. 29, 1901; *Freiheit,* Dec. 14, 1901.

[42] Henry Bool, *Henry Bool's Apology for His Jeffersonian Anarchism,* pp. 4–12, 25; M. M. Dayton to Bool, Oct. 8, 1901, Bool Papers, Joseph A. Labadie Collection, University of Michigan. See also Bool to George E. Priest, Nov. 2, 1901, *ibid.;* and Steven T. Byington to Bool, Nov. 9, 1901, Byington Papers, Labadie Collection.

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to be indicted for conspiracy to overthrow the government." After considering the matter, however, the grand jury reported that it had not obtained sufficient evidence to justify bringing in any bills of indictment, but it recommended continuation of the investigation.[43] The Newark Excise Board, after an incident involving two anarchists in a local saloon, decided not to award any licenses to anarchist establishments and to revoke licenses granted to establishments that permitted anarchists to congregate on their premises and to demonstrate against government.[44] The anarchists Charles Martino and Mrs. Quintevalli were driven from their homes in Union Hill, New Jersey.[45] The mayor of Paterson, New Jersey, residence of a numerous colony of Italian-born anarchists, and the chiefs of police of such cities as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia announced that they were prepared to "go to the extreme lengths of law" in dealing with the "reds."[46]

Accepting the doctrine of guilt by family association, the landlord of Czolgosz' family in Cleveland ordered his tenants to move, and the Cleveland *Leader* demanded that the assassin's father, who had a city job digging water trenches, be fired.[47] Even as late as May, 1903, when Theodore Roosevelt was visiting Los Angeles, the police, on the advice of the Secret Service, arrested John Czolgosz, Leon's brother, and kept him in custody until the President left the city.[48]

Although anarchists bore the brunt of the resentment engendered by Czolgosz' assassination of McKinley, they were not the only ones to suffer the wrath of the public. The socialists in particular were subjected to considerable annoyance,[49] a fact which is probably accounted for by the tendency of the unthinking to identify socialism with its ideological opposite, anarchism. As a Baptist clergyman wrote to the anarchist Henry Bool: "Anarchists, Socialists, and Communists are all one to the general public,—and all enemies of the present social order as they regard it."[50] Quite apart from ideological factors, all persons who made derogatory remarks about the

[43] *Literary Digest,* XXIII (Oct. 5, 1901), 391; New York *Evening Post* (semi-weekly edition), Oct. 31, 1901.

[44] New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 16, 17, 19, 1901; Halstead, *McKinley,* pp. 83–84, 92.

[45] New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 18, 1901. The mayor of Cliffside Park, New Jersey, ordered Mrs. Bresci, the wife of Humbert's assassin, to move from the area but after consulting legal authorities reconsidered his decision. *Ibid.;* Philadelphia *Press,* Sept. 20, 1901.

[46] New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 7, 8, 10, 11, 24, 1901; Halstead, *McKinley,* pp. 77–79; Philadelphia *Press,* Sept. 10, 15, 1901; New York *Evening Post* (semi-weekly edition), Sept. 9, 1901.

[47] New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 14, 1901; *Public,* IV (Sept. 28, 1901), 386.

[48] New York *Daily Tribune,* May 8, 9, 1903.

[49] For evidence on this point, see *Worker,* Oct. 6, 1901; Philadelphia *Press,* Sept. 10, 22, 1901; Detroit *Evening News,* Sept. 16, 1901; *Discontent,* Oct. 2, Nov. 27, 1901; New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 14, 18, 21, 1901; New York *Weekly Tribune,* Sept. 26, 1901; and Chicago *Tribune,* Sept. 10, 1901.

[50] R. T. Jones to Bool, Nov. 5, 1901, Bool Papers.

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martyred President in the weeks after the assassination were likely to find themselves in trouble.[51]

The attacks on individual anarchists did not, of course, dispose of "the monster of anarchy," popularly viewed as the real cause of the President's death, any more than did the trial and execution of the President's assassin. There was, however, no lack of suggestions as to how this problem might be met. The solution most frequently proposed in the months after the assassination was the exclusion from the United States of anarchist immigrants, a proposal based on the erroneous but widely held assumption that anarchism was not indigenous to the United States and one which overlooked the obvious fact that the President's assassin was native born.[52] The corollary of the thesis that immigrant anarchists be excluded was the strongly held view that anarchists already in the United States (many advocates of this idea would have included citizens as well as aliens) be banished, preferably to some Pacific island.[53] It was also proposed that assaults on the president and other high-placed federal officials should constitute a federal offense regardless of where perpetrated, should be punished more severely than assaults on private persons, or should be regarded as treason, that a detail

[51] The newspapers of the time are replete with evidences of this fact. Two of the more important persons who were affected were Detroit's single-tax advocate, Tom Bawden, and Maryland's Senator Wellington. Bawden was arrested on September 10 and fined for a speech in which he declared: "He [Czolgosz] is one of the many throughout the country who know that they are oppressed. I wish to God that there were a lot more just such men in the country." Detroit *Evening News,* Sept. 11, 17, 1901. Senator Wellington's remark that he was "totally indifferent in the matter" of the assassination brought his expulsion from the Union League Club of Maryland and inspired a demand that he be expelled from the Senate. *Literary Digest,* XXIII (Sept. 21, 1901), 337–38. A particular object of criticism after the assault upon McKinley was the Hearst press. Hearst's New York *Journal* had been exceedingly reckless in its criticisms of McKinley ever since 1896, and at times it appeared even to sanction assassination as a means of ridding the country of the President. A boycott of the Hearst papers was declared by many groups after the assassination. Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States through 260 Years: 1690 to 1950* (rev. ed.; New York, 1950), pp. 540–41; *McKinley the Martyr: Extracts from Mr. Hearst's Papers . . .* (n.p., n.d.). The apogee of folly amidst the general hysteria following the attack on the President was attained by the Virginia Constitutional Convention, which on September 17, 1901, decided to omit the guarantee of free speech contained in the Virginia Bill of Rights in good part because of its belief that it was the right of free speech that had led to the death of the President. Cooler heads eventually prevailed, however, and the section in question was restored. *Nation,* LXXIII (Sept. 26, 1901), 235–36.

[52] *Public Opinion,* XXXI (Sept. 19, 26, 1901), 360, 390; *Literary Digest,* XXIII (Sept. 21, 1901), 335; Chicago *Tribune,* Sept. 7, 1901; Philadelphia *Press,* Sept. 9, 12, 1901; New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 8, 9, 10, 1901; Chicago *Post,* Oct. 28, 1901; Boston *Globe,* Dec. 12, 1901; Halstead, *McKinley,* p. 107; Lew Wallace, "Prevention of Presidential Assassinations," *North American Review,* CLXXIII (December, 1901), 723–24; *Gunton's Magazine,* XXI (October, 1901), 302–304, 353.

[53] *Congressional Record,* 57 Cong., 1 sess., p. 216; "An Anarchist Experiment Station," *Independent,* LIII (Nov. 7, 1901), 2661–63; Andrew D. White, "Assassins and Their Apologists," *ibid.,* LIV (Aug. 21, 1902), 1990; Halstead, *McKinley,* pp. 100–101; *Public Opinion,* XXXI (Sept. 19, 26, Dec. 19, 1901), 360, 390, 781–82; *Literary Digest,* XXIII (Sept. 21, Oct. 5, 1901), 335, 391; Chicago *Tribune,* Sept. 7, 11, 1901; Philadelphia *Press,* Sept. 10, 1901; New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 8, 9, 10, 12, 18, 23, 1901; Boston *Globe,* Dec. 12, 1901.

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of secret-service men be assigned to guard the president, that the law deal severely with those who by the spoken or written word advocated violence and the assassination of public officials or urged the overthrow of the government by force, that anarchist publications be banned and anarchist meetings suppressed, that anarchist assassins be made to suffer cruel and unusual punishments or even be subjected to lynch law, that anarchism be treated by international agreement as piracy, and that anarchists be subjected to "police control."[54] Few indeed were the persons who distinguished between philosophical anarchists and anarchists who advocated the use of force and between anarchist thought and anarchist crime, who protested proposed curbs on anarchists which trenched on constitutional guarantees, and who castigated Americans who seemed ready to barter away the essentials of freedom in the interests of security against a minor and temporary danger.[55]

It remained for Congress, and such state legislatures as saw fit to act, to transform suggestions into legislation and to devise appropriate measures for dealing with anarchism and particularly with its more violent manifestations.[56] The opening shot in the campaign of the federal government to cope with the problem presented by the assassination of McKinley was fired by the nation's new president, Theodore Roosevelt, in his first message to Congress. Roosevelt, who believed "that we should war with relentless efficiency not only against anarchists, but against all active and passive sympathizers

[54] Eugene Wambaugh, "The Nation and the Anarchists," *Green Bag,* XIII (October, 1901), 461–62; S. C. T. Dodd, "Congress and Anarchy: A Suggestion," *North American Review,* CLXXIII (October, 1901), 433–36; Edgar Aldrich, "The Power and Duty of the Federal Government To Protect Its Agents," *ibid.,* CLXIII (December, 1901), 746–57; George C. Holt, "The Defects of the United States Criminal Law," *Independent,* LIII (Sept. 26, 1901), 2282–85; Wallace, "Prevention of Presidential Assassinations," pp. 723–26; J. M. Buckley, "The Assassination of Kings and Presidents," *Century,* XLI (November, 1901), 142; Arthur T. Pierson, "The Spirit of Anarchy and the Weapon of Assassination," *Missionary Review of the World,* XXIV (November, 1901), 803; "Anarchism and the Law," *Independent,* LIII (Sept. 12, 1901), 2187–89; "Anarchy and Its Suppression," *Harper's Weekly,* XLV (Oct. 5, 1901), 997; *Educational Review,* XXII (October, 1901), 321–22; "Anarchism—Its Cause and Cure," *Outlook,* LXIX (Oct. 5, 1901), 253–54; *Gunton's Magazine,* XXI (October, 1901), 304–305; New York *Daily Tribune,* Sept. 8, 9, 11, 12, Oct. 16, 18, 1901; Chicago *Tribune,* Sept. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 23, 24, 26, 29, Oct. 5, 16, 1901; Philadelphia *Press,* Sept. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 19, 1901; Chicago *Post,* Oct. 28, 1901; Detroit *Evening News,* Sept. 16, 1901; Boston *Globe,* Dec. 12, 1901; *Public Opinion,* XXXI (Sept. 12, 19, 26, 1901), 324, 359–60, 390; *Literary Digest,* XXIII (Sept. 21, Oct. 5, 1901), 335–36, 391–93; *Nation,* LXXIII (Sept. 26, 1901), 235; Robert A. Pinkerton, "Detective Surveillance of Anarchists," *North American Review,* CLXXIII (November, 1901), 609–17; Secretary of the Treasury, *Annual Report on the State of the Finances for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1902* (Washington, 1902), p. 52.

[55] Particularly noteworthy as a deplorer of the popular hysteria was Louis F. Post, editor of the single-tax journal the *Public.* See, for example, *Public,* IV (Sept. 14, 21, 28, Oct. 12, 1901), 353–55, 371, 388–94, 422–24. Moderate views were also expressed by the social gospelers R. Heber Newton, Washington Gladden, and Lyman Abbott; by Illinois' former governor, John Peter Altgeld; by the editor of the *Arena,* B. O. Flower; and by such journals as the New York *Evening Post,* the Detroit *Evening News,* the *Nation,* and the *Chautauquan.*

[56] For earlier attempts by Congress to deal with the problem of anarchism, see J. C. Burrows, "The Need of National Legislation against Anarchism," *North American Review,* CLXXIII (December, 1901), 727–45.

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with anarchists,"[57] declared that McKinley had been killed "by an utterly depraved criminal belonging to that body of criminals who object to all governments, good and bad alike." Both the advocates of anarchy and the apologists for anarchism were, he insisted, "morally accessory to murder before the fact." Roosevelt suggested to Congress that it exclude from the United States anarchists who extolled assassination and that it deport alien anarchists who espoused this view. The federal courts, he recommended, should be given jurisdiction over attempts on the life of the president or officials in the line of presidential succession, and he thought that even unsuccessful attempts should be severely punished. Roosevelt also proposed that treaties be drawn up making anarchy an offense against the law of nations similar to piracy and the slave trade.[58]

The Fifty-seventh Congress was confronted not only by the recommendations of the President but by a multitude of anti-anarchy bills presented by its own membership. Debate was however confined to the Ray Bill in the House and the Hoar Bill in the Senate. The former provided the death penalty for persons who killed the president, vice-president, those in the line of presidential succession, and ambassadors of foreign countries accredited to the United States while these officials were performing their official duties, or because of their official character, or because of their "official acts or omissions." Attempts to accomplish the above were to be punished by not less than ten years' imprisonment. Persons who aided, incited, or conspired with anyone to perpetrate such deeds were to be deemed principal offenders, and accomplices after the fact were to receive sentences of from one to twenty-five years. Fines and imprisonment were stipulated for persons who advocated or justified the killing or assaulting of public officials. Persons who disbelieved in or who were opposed to "all organized government," or who were members of organizations entertaining such beliefs, or who advocated the killing of public officials because of their official character were not to be permitted to enter the United States, nor were they to be naturalized.[59]

The Hoar Bill was of somewhat narrower scope than its House counterpart. It provided the death penalty for persons who willfully killed or attempted to kill the president, the vice-president, any officer upon whom the duties of the president might devolve, or the sovereign of a foreign nation. Persons instigating or counseling such crimes or conspiring to accomplish same were to be imprisoned for twenty years, whereas persons who by the

[57] Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, Sept. 9, 1901, Elting E. Morison, *et al.*, eds., *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt,* 8 vols. (Cambridge, 1951–54), III, 142.

[58] Hermann Hagedorn, ed., *The Works of Theodore Roosevelt,* 24 vols. (memorial edition; New York, 1923–26), XVII, 93, 96–99.

[59] *House Reports, No. 433,* 57 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 16–18.

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spoken or written word threatened to kill or advised the killing of any of the aforesaid were to receive ten-year terms. Accomplices after the fact were to be punished as principals. Further to insure the safety of the president, the measure provided that the secretary of war was to detach officers and men from the regular army to guard the chief executive. The Hoar Bill passed the Senate on March 21, 1902, by a vote of 52 to 15, despite protests from southern senators that to make an assault upon high-placed federal officials a federal offense constituted an invasion of the domain of the states and that to provide greater punishment for such attacks than for attacks upon ordinary persons was to enact class legislation.[60]

The House Committee on the Judiciary, to which the Hoar Bill was referred, found the measure unacceptable. In reporting the bill back to the House on April 4, it preserved only the Senate number of the measure and substituted for the original text the Ray Bill with one new section added. The latter stipulated that in prosecutions under the act for attacks on the president, vice-president, or persons in the line of presidential succession, it was to be presumed, unless the contrary was proved, that these officials were, at the time of the commission of the alleged offenses, engaged in the performance of their official duties. Congressman Ray of New York explained that the Hoar Bill was unconstitutional insofar as it defined and punished as crimes offenses against high officials simply because of their office irrespective of whether they were engaged in the performance of official duties, and that it threatened the nation's liberty by theoretically permitting the secretary of war to assign the entire regular army to the task of guarding the president.[61] Objections in the House to the new version of the Ray Bill were similar to those voiced in the Senate with respect to the Hoar Bill, but the measure passed on June 9, 1902, by a vote of 179 to 38.[62]

Prompted by its Committee on the Judiciary, the Senate refused to concur in the House amendments to its bill, and the measure had to be referred to a conference committee. The latter's report, which recommended a bill somewhat closer to the House version than to the original Senate measure, was not submitted to the House until February 19, 1903, and to the Senate until four days later. It provided the death penalty for persons who caused the death of the president, vice-president, and anyone upon whom the duties of the presidency had devolved, and a similar penalty for causing the death of foreign ambassadors and ministers accredited to the United States and

[60] *Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1495, 2269, 2275–76, 2288, 2299, 2356, 2428–35, 2483–92, 2907, 2953–63, 2995–3006, 3045–66, 3113, 3115–23, 3126–29.

[61] *House Reports, No. 1422*, 57 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 1–12.

[62] *Congressional Record*, 57 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 3701, 6235–45, 6246–52, 6283–6305, 6332–60, 6361, 6392–6420, 6421–26, 6450–59, 6460–67, 6468–76, 6506–6508.

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officials in the line of presidential succession provided they were engaged in the performance of their official duties or were killed because of their official character or duties or because of their official acts or omissions. The measure further provided that any person who aided or advised the killing of the officials named or conspired with any person to this end, as well as accomplices after the fact, should be deemed principal offenders. The remaining sections of the measure were derived from the Ray Bill.[63]

The conference report was accepted by the House on February 20, 1903, but it ran into difficulties in the Senate. Senator Hoar of Massachusetts asked his colleagues to accept the report without debate, but when the measure was taken up on March 3, 1903, the last day of the session, Senator Bacon of Georgia insisted that it was an altogether different proposal from the one previously considered by the Senate and must therefore be debated at length. Hoar pressed for a vote, but when Senator Teller of Colorado assured him that the measure would not pass, Hoar withdrew his motion, and the measure died. Thus, although the House and Senate had separately approved bills designed to deal with one or another aspect of the problem of anarchy, the two houses, in the press of business during the closing hours of the session, were unable to agree on a compromise measure.[64]

The country was not, however, to be without some congressional legislation on the subject of anarchy. Since there was relatively little difference of opinion in the Congress or in the nation as a whole with regard to the necessity of shutting off the alleged flow of anarchist immigrants, it is not surprising that this legislation took the form of anarchist-exclusion amendments to the immigration legislation. Section 2 of a measure designed to regulate the immigration of aliens into the United States, which was passed by the House on May 27, 1902, added to the list of excluded immigrants "anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of all governments, or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials." At the instigation of Senator Bacon, the Senate, while retaining Section 2, added to the measure as Section 38 the much more sweeping provisions of the Ray Bill, which excluded not only advocates of the forcible overthrow of government but also persons who disbelieved in or were opposed to all government, or who were members of or affiliated with organizations teaching such views, or who advocated the assassination of public officials because of their official character, forbade such persons to become naturalized, and fined those who aided such individuals either to enter the United States or to become naturalized. It was in this form that the measure ultimately

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 6564–65, 6838; *ibid.*, 57 Cong., 2 sess., p. 2407.
[64] *Ibid.*, 57 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 2419–20, 2703–2704, 2953, 2956–64.

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passed the Congress on March 3, 1903, receiving the approval of the President the next day.[65]

The inability of Congress to agree on legislation for the control of domestic anarchists was not matched by three of the states: New York, New Jersey, and Wisconsin. New York became the first state to take action when its governor signed into law on April 3, 1902, a measure which struck at criminal anarchy, defined as "the doctrine that organized government should be overthrown by force or violence, or by assassination of the executive head or of any of the executive officials of government, or by any unlawful means." It was made a felony punishable by not more than ten years' imprisonment, or by a fine of $5,000, or both to advocate criminal anarchy by the written or spoken word, to justify assassination so as to advocate criminal anarchy, to organize, or help to organize, or become a member of, or voluntarily assemble with any group formed to advocate such doctrines, and for two or more persons to assemble to advocate or teach such doctrines. It was made a misdemeanor punishable by two years' imprisonment, or $2,000 fine, or both for the owner or caretaker of a hall or building to permit its use for an assemblage advocating criminal anarchy.[66]

Enacted as a result of pressures stemming from the assassination of McKinley and designed to curb anarchists who were addicted to violence, the New York criminal anarchy law turned out to be of singularly little significance as an anti-anarchist measure. Although there were some abortive attempts to apply it to anarchists in the years after McKinley's death[67] and although the measure figured in a minor slander suit,[68] it lay dormant for all practical purposes until it was applied in 1919 not to an anarchist but to a prominent leader of the Left Wing Section of the Socialist party (later Communist party), Benjamin Gitlow, who had published a manifesto advocating the destruction of the existing state and its replacement with a dictatorship of the proletariat. Although Justices Pound and Cardozo of the New York Court of Appeals protested that to advocate the dictatorship of the proletariat was not to advocate criminal anarchy and that the statute in question aimed historically only at the latter, the court ruled that Gitlow was guilty

[65] *House Reports, No. 982,* 57 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 2–3; *Congressional Record,* 57 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 2984, 6014, 6044; *Senate Reports, No. 2119,* 57 Cong., 1 sess.; *Congressional Record,* 57 Cong., 2 sess., pp. 2805–2806, 2809, 2867–68, 2894–95, 2918–19, 2949–50, 3010–11, 3077; *United States Statutes at Large,* XXXII, 1214, 1221–22.

[66] Clevenger-Gilbert, *Criminal Law and Practice of New York . . . as Amended to End of Legislative Session of 1948* (Official ed.; Albany, New York, 1948), Penal Law, Article 14, Sections 160–64.

[67] *Freiheit,* Apr. 12, 26, May 10, 17, 24, 1902; *Free Society,* May 18, 1902; Goldman, *Living My Life,* pp. 390–92, 396.

[68] Von Gerichten *v.* Seitz, 94 App. Div. N. Y. 130 (1904).

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under the terms of the act of 1902.[69] The case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, which in a celebrated opinion, Holmes and Brandeis dissenting, upheld the constitutionality of the New York law and maintained that the defendant had not been deprived of the liberty guaranteed to him by the Fourteenth Amendment.[70]

Twenty-seven days after the New York criminal anarchy law was approved, New Jersey responded by legislation to the existing anti-anarchist sentiment by enacting a statute which went further than the New York law in that it struck not only at the advocacy of the overthrow of government by force but also at the encouragement of "hostility or opposition to any and all government." The measure punished by a fine of not more than $2,000, or imprisonment at hard labor for not more than fifteen years, or both any person who advocated anarchy, as defined, or who belonged to an organization, or attended a meeting, or circulated literature which had this purpose in view. The death penalty or, at the discretion of the jury, life imprisonment was to be imposed on persons who assaulted "with intent to kill and with intent thereby to show his or her hostility or opposition to any and all government," or who incited or aided others to assault, or who conspired to kill the president, vice-president, any official in the line of succession to the presidency, the governor of New Jersey or the chief executive of any state, or the heir apparent or presumptive to the throne of any foreign state.[71]

The third and last state to fall in line was Wisconsin, which on May 22, 1903, put into effect a measure modeled almost word for word upon the New York law.[72] Thus did the attack on McKinley inspire legislation which was to serve as a precedent for the criminal anarchy and criminal syndicalist laws of a later day.

II

The anarchists themselves were far from agreed in their reaction to the President's assassination. Individualist anarchists, as might have been expected, unequivocally condemned Czolgosz' action, disavowed any connection between anarchism and assassination, and insisted that they sought to achieve their objectives by "peaceful persuasion." "It cannot be too emphatically insisted on," declared James F. Morton, "that there is absolutely nothing in the Anarchist philosophy which constitutes, directly or indirectly, an in-

[69] People *v.* Gitlow, 234 N. Y. 132 (1922).
[70] Gitlow *v.* N. Y., 268 U. S. 652 (1925).
[71] *Revised Statutes of New Jersey Effective December 20, 1937*, 4 vols. (n.p., 1938), Title 2, pp. 483–84.
[72] *Journal of Proceedings of the Forty-Sixth Session of the Wisconsin Legislature. In Senate. 1903* (Madison, 1903), p. 1285; *Wisconsin Statutes, 1949* (20th ed.; Racine, n.d.), Ch. 347.14–347.18, pp. 3119–20.

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citement to assassination. This is true in the fullest sense, without reservation or equivocation."[73]

Communist anarchists, on the other hand, were divided in their attitude toward the assassination as toward the question of the use of force in general. Generally speaking, however, they were more inclined to accept Czolgosz' act than were the individualist anarchists and, at the very least, tended to picture the deed as "a part of that great human tide constantly rising against oppression in direct response to natural law." Emma Goldman thus found it possible to "bow in reverenced silence before the powers" of the assassin's soul, and Kate Austin accepted the assassination "as the supreme protest of a brave and generous heart against 'the curse of government.'" *Free Society* apologized to the assassin for having suspected that he was a spy and, after some equivocation on the subject, concluded that "the logic of revolutionary thought" required anarchists to accept deeds such as that of Czolgosz.[74] The individualist anarchist Edwin C. Walker justly complained that *Free Society* was "through and through . . . a scarcely-veiled apology for the killing of McKinley."[75]

If anarchists were of different minds in their estimate of Czolgosz' deed, they were united in their opposition to the various proposals put forward after the assassination for dealing with the anarchist problem in the United States. Anarchism, they insisted, could not be stamped out by legislative or administrative fiat, as was being suggested. Since laws and persecution were powerless to kill a real truth, just as they were unnecessary to demolish error, anarchism would survive despite all the measures that might be taken to combat it.[76] Concentrating increasingly on the free-speech aspects of the problem, anarchists charged that the attack on them was but a prelude to

[73] *Discontent,* Sept. 18, 1901. See also *ibid.,* Sept. 25, Oct. 9, 1901; Bool, *Henry Bool's Apology for His Jeffersonian Anarchism; Henry Bool's Creed,* reprint from the *Weekly Ithacan* of Oct. 24, 1901; *Who's Who? A Discussion between an Autocratic Democrat and a Government-by-Consent Anarchist . . . ; Free Comrade,* November, 1901; *Lucifer,* Sept. 14, 21, 28, Oct. 31, 1901.

[74] *Free Society,* Oct. 6, 13, Dec. 8, 15, 1901, Mar. 9, Oct. 12, 26, 1902; Chicago *Tribune,* Dec. 6, 7, 1901; New York *Daily Tribune,* Nov. 28, 1901. Czolgosz' action is also defended in Jay Fox, *Roosevelt, Czolgosz and Anarchy* (New York, 1902). Most's *Freiheit* reiterated its view that propaganda of the deed should not be employed in countries such as the United States where other kinds of propaganda were still possible to anarchists. *Freiheit,* Sept. 14, 21, Oct. 5, 1901. See also *Down with Anarchists* (New York, 1901), a pamphlet prepared by Most. For criticism of Czolgosz' act by other communist anarchists, see Goldman, *Living My Life,* pp. 323–24 (views of Alexander Berkman), Philadelphia *Press,* Sept. 12, 1901 (views of Carl Nold), Chicago *Tribune,* Sept. 7, 1901 (views of Oscar Neebe and Lucy Parsons), and *Freie Arbeiter Stimme,* Sept. 13, 20, 27, 1901. Emma Goldman was particularly disturbed at the attitude toward the assassination assumed by English-speaking and Jewish anarchists but was satisfied with the reaction of French, Italian, and Spanish groups. Goldman, pp. 316, 318.

[75] Walker to Bool, Dec. 15, 1901, Bool Papers.

[76] Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin,* Oct. 14, 1901; *Free Society,* Dec. 29, 1901, Apr. 20, June 8, 1902, Mar. 29, Nov. 15, 1903; *Discontent,* Oct. 2, 9, Dec. 18, 1901; *Freiheit,* Nov. 30, 1901, Mar. 15, 22, 1902; *Constitutional Freedom or New Jersey Tyranny Which?* (n.p., [1902]).

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efforts to suppress all unpopular views, all expressions of dissent. Americans were urged to resist this tendency and to check any encroachment on the right of free speech.[77]

The anarchists were provided with an opportunity to exploit their free-speech views when the federal government enforced for the first time the anarchist-exclusion sections of its new immigration legislation by arresting the English anarchist and trade-unionist John Turner, who had arrived in New York in October, 1903. A series of lectures was arranged for Turner by American anarchists, the first of which was delivered in New York on October 23, 1903, on the subject of trade-unionism and the general strike. At the conclusion of his address Turner was arrested for having entered the United States in violation of the immigration legislation. Turner was searched, and on his person were found a copy of *Free Society,* a pamphlet prepared by Johann Most, and a schedule of lectures indicating that he was to have spoken on such subjects as "The Legal Murder of 1887" and was to have addressed a mass meeting with Most in commemoration of the hanging of the Haymarket anarchists.

The day following his arrest Turner received an administrative hearing before a board of special inquiry of the Department of Commerce and Labor and was ordered deported. This decision was upheld by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor and, on appeal, by the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.[78]

Pending deportation Turner was held at Ellis Island. He was locked in a 9 by 6 foot cage designed for insane immigrants and for a time could be visited only by his counsel and not even by him on a private basis.[79] Wishing to push the case to the United States Supreme Court, the anarchists, with Emma Goldman taking the lead, asked Turner if he would be willing to remain at Ellis Island while his case was appealed. Turner agreed to remain not, he said, because he thought the case would be decided in his favor but because he believed that public opinion might be sufficiently aroused to bring about the repeal of the legislation in question or to forestall his being deported.[80]

On November 14, 1903, a group of Turner's supporters, several but not all

[77] James F. Morton, Jr., *Do You Want Free Speech?* (Home, Washington, [1903]); George Pyburn, *The Conspiracy against Free Speech and Press* (New York, 1902); *The Free Speech League, Its Declaration* (n.p. [1902]). These three pamphlets are available in the Labadie Collection.

[78] United States *ex rel* John Turner *v.* William Williams, *Brief and Argument of Appellant* (Chicago, 1904), pp. 4-7; *Free Society,* Oct. 25, 1903.

[79] *Free Society,* Nov. 29, Dec. 6, 1903; *Demonstrator,* Dec. 1, 1903; *Public,* VI (Feb. 20, 1904), 722.

[80] *Free Society,* Nov. 22, 1903; Goldman, *Living My Life,* pp. 347–48.

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of whom were anarchists, formed themselves into a Free Speech League and assumed direction of his case. The League engaged Clarence Darrow and his partner, Edgar Lee Masters, as counsel for Turner and decided to concentrate its attention on the free-speech aspects of the affair. "The sole question at issue," the League informed the public, "is: Shall the Federal Government be a Judge of beliefs and disbeliefs?" "Tyranny," it declared, "always begins with the most unpopular man or class and extends by degrees: it should be resisted at the beginning."[81]

That the anarchists were beginning to win a measure of outside support by playing up the free-speech angle of the Turner case was clearly evidenced when they arranged a mass meeting in New York City's Cooper Union on December 3, 1903, to protest the threatened deportation of John Turner. Although the anarchists had provided the impetus for the meeting, the list of vice-presidents for the affair included such prominent nonanarchists as Felix Adler, Ernest H. Crosby, Henry George, Jr., Franklin Giddings, Henry D. Sedgwick, Jr., Horace White, Carl Schurz, and the Reverend Leighton Williams. Resolutions were adopted at the meeting which protested "so much of the Immigration Law as authorizes the exclusion and deportation of an alien solely because of his opinions" and also the administrative process by which Turner had been seized and detained.[82] Similar meetings were held in Philadelphia and in Buffalo, and the government's actions were also protested by several labor organizations.[83]

Criticism of the immigration legislation insofar as it provided for the exclusion of peaceful anarchists was also voiced by some of the leading newspapers and magazines in the country. The New York *Evening Post,* the New York *Daily News,* the New York *World,* the Springfield *Republican,* the *Independent,* and the *Outlook* all argued that in barring aliens from the country because of their opinions alone, the federal government was striking at the vital principle of freedom of speech and freedom of thought.[84]

Criticisms of this sort failed, however, to sway the nation's highest court,

[81] *Free Society,* Nov. 22, 1903; Goldman, pp. 348–49; Free Speech League, *The Imprisonment of John Turner. Free Speech and the New Alien Law* (n.p., 1903). The anarchist Edwin C. Walker had organized a Free Speech League on May 1, 1902, which was closely related to the new League in terms of personnel. See undated pamphlet in the Labadie Collection giving demands and constitution of the 1902 organization.

[82] *Free Speech and the New Alien Law* ([New York], 1903); *Free Society,* Dec. 13, 1903.

[83] *Free Society,* Dec. 13, 20, 1903, Jan. 3, 10, 24, 31, Feb. 7, 1904; *Public,* VI (Dec. 26, 1903, Feb. 13, 20, 1904), 594–95, 717, 723. For the Buffalo meeting, see newspaper clippings in envelope labeled "John Turner Case," Labadie Collection.

[84] Views of New York *Post* and New York *Daily News* cited in *Free Speech and the New Alien Law;* views of Springfield *Republican* cited in *Demonstrator,* Dec. 30, 1903; New York *World,* Jan. 31, 1904; "Liberty of Opinion Denied," *Independent,* LV (Dec. 10, 1903), 2940–41; *Outlook,* LXXV (Nov. 21, 1903), 678–79; *ibid.,* LXXVII (May 28, 1904), 205–206. But see also *Literary Digest,* XXVII (Dec. 19, 1903), 855–57.

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which took up the Turner case on April 6, 1904. In his majority opinion upholding anarchist exclusion, Chief Justice Fuller rejected the argument of Darrow and Masters[85] and declared that Congress has the power to exclude aliens and to prescribe terms for their entry, that it can deport those who have entered in violation of the law, that it can have executive officers enforce these provisions, and that such action does not deprive aliens of due process of law or of freedom of speech or of the press. Fuller thought that it was not an unjustifiable inference from the evidence in the case that Turner contemplated the use of force to attain his ideals, but he insisted that the act would have been constitutional even if Turner had been merely a philosophical anarchist, because it was to be presumed that "Congress was of opinion that the tendency of the general exploitation of such views is so dangerous to the public weal that aliens who hold and advocate them would be undesirable additions to our population."

In a separate concurring opinion Justice Brewer declared that since it appeared that Turner was an anarchist of the type who sought the overthrow of the government by force, it was unnecessary to consider what his rights would have been were he simply a philosophical anarchist. It is difficult to see how Brewer could have maintained this position in view of the language of Section 38.[86]

With the trial of John Turner and the upholding by the Supreme Court of the constitutionality of the anti-anarchist provisions of the immigration legislation of 1903, the anti-anarchist phase of the assassination of William McKinley was brought to a close. The passions engendered by the assassination had long since been quieted, and now the issue as a whole ceased to be of public interest. Traces of the affair remained only in the legislation enacted by Congress and the states of New York, New Jersey, and Wisconsin and in the writings of the communist anarchists who chose to add Leon Czolgosz to their list of anarchist martyrs.[87]

The lot of the anarchist in this country remained a troubled one, however, and when the United States entered World War I the federal government intensified the attack upon anarchism which it had initiated following the assassination of McKinley. Alarmed at the implications of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and overly concerned with the threat to the nation's stability

[85] United States *ex rel* John Turner *v.* William Williams, *Brief and Argument of Appellant,* pp. 24–187.

[86] U. S. *ex rel* John Turner *v.* Williams, 194 U. S. 279 (1904), 289–90, 293–94, 296.

[87] For the martyrization of Czolgosz by communist anarchists, see particularly [Voltairine de Cleyre], *McKinley's Assassination from the Anarchist Standpoint* (n.p., [1907]); and the October issues of *Mother Earth* for 1906, 1908, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, and 1916. For an expression of individualist anarchist disgust with communist-anarchist martyrization of Czolgosz, see Edwin C. Walker, *Liberty vs. Assassination* (New York, [1906]).

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represented by alien radicals, Congress in 1917 and 1918 provided for the deportation of "aliens who are members of the anarchistic and similar classes" and in so doing adopted a solution for the anarchist problem much discussed after Czolgosz' attack on McKinley. Acting under the authority of this legislation, federal officials in late 1919 and early 1920 arrested approximately three thousand aliens for possible deportation. The great majority of this number were apparently communists or suspected communists, but anarchists were also included in the total; and when the *Buford* on December 21, 1919, sailed for Finland and Russia, fifty-one anarchists were among its cargo of 249 deportees. The most prominent of the "Red Ark's" anarchist passengers were Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, both of whom had but recently completed jail terms of twenty-one months for violation of the Espionage Act. [88]

Insofar as anarchists had associated themselves with the syndicalist-minded Industrial Workers of the World, they also ran afoul of the criminal syndicalist laws[89] enacted by various state governments during the war years and immediately thereafter. As a result of this combined assault of state and federal governments between 1917 and 1920, the anarchist movement in the United States was almost completely disrupted; and although the subject of anarchism was to be a factor in the celebrated Sacco-Vanzetti case, anarchism no longer attracted significant public attention after 1920.[90] The fears which it had at one time inspired had by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century been transferred to the far more serious problem of communism, and it was the communist dictatorship of the proletariat rather than the anarchist propaganda of words or the deed that now seemed to constitute the more important threat to the nation's security.

University of Michigan

[88] Jane Perry Clark, *Deportation of Aliens from the United States to Europe* (New York, 1931), pp. 216–21; Louis F. Post, *The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty: A Personal Narrative of an Historic Official Experience* (Chicago, 1923), p. 27.

[89] Twenty states enacted such laws between 1917 and 1920. Eldridge Foster Dowell, *A History of Criminal Syndicalism Legislation in the United States* (Baltimore, 1939), p. 21. In addition, Massachusetts and Vermont adopted criminal anarchy laws in 1919. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., *Free Speech in the United States* (Cambridge, 1941), pp. 585, 595.

[90] Madison, *Critics and Crusaders,* pp. 170–71.

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The Ethical Revolt Against Christian Orthodoxy in Early Victorian England

HOWARD R. MURPHY

I

NINETEENTH-century free thought (the Victorians generally called it "Rationalism") made its grand assault on Christian orthodoxy[1] during the twenty years or so following the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859. It was then that advanced theological liberalism, twice rebuked in the Court of Arches, was twice vindicated by the Privy Council, that Oxford and Cambridge were opened to nonsubscribers to the Thirty-nine Articles, that scholarly clergymen like Leslie Stephen, J. R. Green, and J. E. Thorold Rogers felt it a duty of conscience to resign their orders, and that such stalwart soldiers of truth as T. H. Huxley, John Tyndall, G. J. Holyoake, and Charles Bradlaugh were marching from victory to victory. This was undoubtedly the climax of the story, but there is no need to rehearse it in detail. It is more worth-while to analyze the forces that lay behind it, and this will focus our attention on the two or three decades immediately preceding 1859.

The factors usually cited in explanation of the decline of nineteenth-century orthodoxy are the rise of the concept of evolution as a scientific hypothesis in geology and biology, and of the "higher criticism" in Biblical scholarship. The prevailing impression seems to be (a) that, because Lyell and Darwin had shown that neither the origin of the earth nor the origin of man as described in Genesis can be reconciled with the findings of science, therefore thinking people became atheists or agnostics; and (b) that, because a number of German scholars had shown that neither the Old nor the New Testament can be taken at face value, therefore honest men had no recourse but to abandon Christianity altogether.

Not only is this implausible on the face of it. It has also obscured the fact that the Victorian religious crisis was produced by a fundamental conflict between certain cherished orthodox dogmas (of which the infallibility of the

[1] "Orthodoxy" should be understood here as meaning, not a specific theological position, but the policy of refusing to come to terms with the increasingly secular and meliorist spirit of the age. In the Church of England, it includes Evangelicalism and Tractarianism alike, but excludes the Broad Church; in Dissent, it embraces virtually everything except Unitarianism.

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letter was perhaps the least important) and the meliorist[2] ethical bias of the age. Contemporary developments in geology, biology, and Biblical scholarship provided indispensable ammunition once the attack on orthodoxy was under way, but they did not generate the attack. The attack was generated by a sensed incongruity between a vigorous and hopeful meliorism and the doctrinal legacy of the Christian tradition.

The point is strikingly illustrated in the personal histories of three individuals who achieved a certain notoriety as freethinkers around the middle of the century: Francis William Newman (1805–97), James Anthony Froude (1818–94), and Mary Ann Evans (1819–80). Brought up in the Established Church, all three were, in their youth, deeply in earnest about their religion, and all have left interesting records of the intellectual and emotional experiences that led them eventually to repudiate that religion. All three were gradually and at first unconsciously alienated from their early orthodoxy by a variety of factors that had nothing to do with the question of the literal veracity of Holy Writ. Prominent among these factors, in each case, was a growing repugnance toward the ethical implications of what they had been taught to accept as essential Christian dogma; and the root of their repugnance was their sense of incongruity between this Christian dogma and the meliorist bias of their time. All of them were well advanced on the road to skepticism before they had more than the dimmest notion of the significance of contemporary Biblical scholarship. None of them appears to have read Lyell, and each made his decisive break with orthodoxy from ten to twenty years before the appearance of *The Origin of Species*.

II

Francis William Newman's religious home background, like that of his elder brother, the celebrated John Henry Newman, is best described as one of neutral Anglicanism. John Newman senior, a moderately successful banker with a house in Bloomsbury Square until the post-Waterloo financial panic, is said to have been "an admirer of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson"[3] and to have been opposed to the slave trade.[4] Works ranging from the Quaker Barclay's *Apology* and various Evangelical sermons and

[2] As here used, "meliorism" refers to the notion, more often taken for granted than expressly stated, that the life of man on this earth both can and should be progressively improved through a sustained application of human effort and intelligence. Because it served as a substitute for the otherworldly-salvation motif that has so dominated the history of Christianity, it tended to bring Christianity itself into question, and to put all forms of orthodoxy on trial.

[3] F. W. Newman, *Contributions Chiefly to the Early History of the Late Cardinal Newman* (London, 1891), p. 6.

[4] Eleanor Ruggles, *Journey into Faith: The Anglican Life of John Henry Newman* (New York, 1948), p. 15.

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tracts to the essays of Hume and Paine were not only available in his library but, apparently, read by his sons.[5] As for Mrs. Newman, we have it on the testimony of both Francis and one of his sisters that she made no attempt to instill in her children any sort of partisan religious bias but simply taught them certain broadly Christian principles.[6] The Newman home tended to open doors rather than to indoctrinate.

In their teens, however, the boys acquired an intense Evangelical bias from a Reverend Walter Mayers who taught at the school in Ealing where they received their secondary education, and they each took this bias with them when they went up to Oxford.[7] Evangelicalism, including the modified Calvinism that went with it, must, therefore, be regarded as the point of departure for the intellectually conscious parts of their respective religious pilgrimages.

Part of the driving force behind Francis' pilgrimage was a clash between his radically Protestant temperament and that of his brother, the future cardinal. That he resented the latter's efforts to guide and steer his religious development is shown in two episodes in his career as an undergraduate at Worcester College (1822–26), both recounted by himself in later years:

> In the earliest period of my Oxford residence, I fell into uneasy collision with him concerning Episcopal powers. I had on one occasion dropt something disrespectful against bishops or a bishop,—something which, if it had been said about a clergyman, would have passed unnoticed: but my brother checked and reproved me,—as I thought, very uninstructively—for "wanting reverence towards Bishops." I knew not then, and I know not now, why Bishops, *as such,* should be more reverenced than common clergymen; or Clergymen, *as such,* more than common men. In the World I expected pomp and vain show and formality and counterfeits: but of the Church, as Christ's own kingdom, I demanded reality and could not digest legal fictions.[8]

And again:

> While I was arranging furniture in my new rooms (1824), I suddenly found a beautiful engraving of the "Blessed Virgin" fixed up. I went to the print-shop and begged its immediate removal, and then learned that my brother had ordered it. I am sure he thought me an ungrateful brother. My own act made me unhappy; yet the more I ruminated, the more I judged that to resist from the beginning was the wisest way.[9]

[5] Charles Frederick Harrold, *John Henry Newman: An Expository and Critical Study of His Mind, Thought, and Art* (London and New York, 1945), pp. 3–4. Also, Ruggles, p. 15.

[6] Ruggles, p. 25.

[7] I. Giberne Sieveking, *Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman* (London, 1909), pp. 9–10. But also see F. W. Newman, *Early History of Cardinal Newman,* pp. 14–15.

[8] Francis William Newman, *Phases of Faith: or, Passages from the History of My Creed* (3d ed.; London, 1853), p. 7.

[9] Newman, *Early History of Cardinal Newman,* p. 18.

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Throughout his undergraduate career, Francis strove valiantly not only to walk steadfastly in the light of his Evangelical and Calvinist faith but also to understand that faith. To be sure, he recognized that some mysteries cannot be penetrated by the understanding, but he felt that such mysteries should be frankly recognized as incapable of human statement and not erected into formal creedal propositions. As he remarked concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, ". . . whatever the depth of the mystery, if we lay down anything about it *at all,* we ought to understand our own words."[10] Thus, it is not surprising that all sorts of doubts and enigmas began to arise before him, so that, by the time of his graduation, his "faith," although by no means lost, was visibly coming untied from its intellectual moorings. His bad conscience for having subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles in order to receive his bachelor's degree[11] was but an outward sign of a profound change maturing within him.

It is noteworthy that, in his own account of this stage of his development in *Phases of Faith* (which, however, was written a quarter of a century later), he had very little to say about the credibility or incredibility of the Bible. On the contrary, what chiefly disturbed him were the (to him) ethically outrageous implications of such cardinal Christian doctrines as Election, Reprobation, Baptismal Regeneration, and Vicarious Atonement. A good random sample of his perplexities is his reflection on the notion that the blood of Christ atones for sins:

> Before long, ground was broken in my mind on a still more critical question, by another Fellow of a College; who maintained that nothing but unbelief could arise out of the attempt to understand *in what way* and *by what moral right* the blood of Christ atoned for sins. He said that he bowed before the doctrine as one of "Revelation," and accepted it reverentially by an act of faith; but that he certainly felt unable to understand *why* the sacrifice of Christ, any more than the Mosaic sacrifices, should compensate for the punishment of our sins. . . . It appeared to him a necessarily inscrutable mystery, into which we ought not to look.—The matter being thus forced on my attention, I certainly saw that to establish the abstract moral *right* and *justice* of vicarious punishment was not easy, and that to make out the fact of any "compensation"—(*i.e.,* that Jesus really endured on the cross a true equivalent for the eternal sufferings due to the whole human race,)—was harder still.[12]

But it was another decade or more before he actually repudiated this or any other doctrine. For a while he was under the influence of John Nelson Darby, one of the originators of the Plymouth Brethren, to whom, however, he refers only as "the Irish clergyman."[13] In 1830 he went to Baghdad to join a group of Brethren missionaries.[14] His contact with the Moham-

[10] Newman, *Phases of Faith,* p. 8. [11] *Ibid.,* p. 9.
[12] *Ibid.,* p. 5. [13] *Ibid.,* pp. 17 ff. [14] *Ibid.,* p. 28.

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medans seems to have undermined his faith still more, and it certainly broadened him.[15] Upon his return in 1833, he was very coolly received by many of his former friends, including Darby, and also by his family. His brother, who had recently returned from the Mediterranean, took exception to his speaking before religious meetings, apparently on the ground that he was thereby usurping the priestly office.[16] In 1836, still striving to reconcile himself with Christianity, he was immersed as a Baptist, but soon found his new position as a Baptist no more tenable than his former position as an Anglican.[17] If we may trust his subsequent recollection of his state of mind around 1836, he still subscribed to most of the objectionable doctrines but constantly had to mortify both his understanding and his conscience in order to do so:

> As to moral criticism, my mind was practically prostrate before the Bible. . . . Against no doctrine did I dare to bring moral objections, except that of "Reprobation." To Election, to Preventing Grace, to the Fall and Original Sin of man, to the Atonement, to Eternal Punishment, I reverently submitted my understanding; . . .
>
> As to miracles, scarcely anything staggered me. I received the strangest and the meanest prodigies of Scripture, with the same unhesitating faith, as if I had never understood a proposition of physical philosophy, nor a chapter of Hume and Gibbon.[18]

The actual transformation of his opinions proceeded in stages lasting through most of the 1840's. First, he reviewed and renounced one after another of the ethically offensive doctrines. Again, his treatment of the Atonement will serve as a convenient illustration:

> What should we think of a judge, who, when a boy had deserved a stripe which would to him have been a sharp punishment, laid the very same blow on a strong man, to whom it was a slight infliction? Clearly this would evade, not satisfy justice. . . . So, to lay our punishment on the infinite strength of Christ, who (they say) bore in six hours what it would have taken thousands of millions of men all eternity to bear, would be a similar evasion. . . . I shuddered at the notions which I had once imbibed as a part of religion; and then got comfort from the inference, how much better the men of this century are than their creed. Their creed was the product of ages of cruelty and credulity; and it sufficiently bears that stamp.[19]

The crucial step, then, was his "shuddering" at his early religion, with the accompanying reflection, "how much better the men of this century are than their creed." Although he had read Paley's *Horae Paulinae* as early as 1827 and had thus learned something of the technique of historical criticism as applied to the New Testament,[20] it was not until this time that he ven-

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33. [16] *Ibid.*, p. 34. [17] *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40, 41–42.
[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 40–41. [19] *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57. [20] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

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tured to take the second step, which was to criticize systematically the claims of the various parts of the Bible to be divinely inspired and verbally infallible; and only after his own investigations were well advanced did he become acquainted with the German higher criticism.[21] Part of the fruit of his Biblical researches is contained in his *History of Hebrew Monarchy,* first published in 1847. Finally, he decided that what is called "historical Christianity" is not only untenable but quite irrelevant to the effort to approach perfection in moral and spiritual character, which to him was the great end of existence and purpose of Creation. With this last step, we may pronounce Francis Newman a complete freethinker.

There is a sense, however, in which, while he ceased to be a Christian, he never ceased to be a Protestant. If one accepts Troeltsch's view that the distinctive mark of Protestantism is the principle of the "priesthood of all believers," then his whole pilgrimage was, among other things, a Protestant's determined effort to rely solely on his direct and immediate relationship with God and dispense with the intercessary machinery of creeds and sacraments —in other words, to be his own priest. On this basis, he was never more completely a Protestant than at the very climax of his career as a freethinker, and the two books that he produced at this juncture (*The Soul* in 1849, and *Phases of Faith* in 1850) are milestones in the history of Protestant witness.

But, if he was indeed a Protestant at this time, he was also something more. To take the place of the Christianity he had renounced, he worked out a theory of spiritual and moral progress, which is the main burden of *The Soul* and is also implicit throughout *Phases of Faith.* Briefly, he contended that the history of man is a history of the gradual progress of moral and spiritual character, that Christianity represents but one rung, long since passed, on this evolutionary ladder, and (this was implied rather than stated) that British civilization in the nineteenth century was the highest rung yet attained.[22] Why did he feel that Christianity is obsolete in modern times?

> Those who stick closest to the Scripture do not shrink from saying, that "it is not worth while trying to mend the world," and stigmatize as "political and worldly" such as pursue an opposite course. Undoubtedly, if we are to expect our Master at cockcrowing, we shall not study the permanent improvement of this transitory scene. To teach the certain speedy destruction of earthly things, *as the New Testament does,* is to cut the sinews of all earthly progress; to declare war against Intellect and Imagination, against Industrial and Social advancement.[23]

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 169 ff.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

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Francis Newman, in a word, was not only a Protestant but also a humanitarian meliorist. Although he continued to believe in a personal deity and in the immortality of the soul (he eventually joined the Unitarians), it was this life and this world that he cared about. He was sooner or later bound to clash with orthodoxy, not only because it seemed to be the product of "ages of cruelty and credulity" but also because its ingrained pessimism about life here below seemed positively obstructive of progress toward a better society and a higher civilization. His "shuddering" at the religion of his youth can be explained only as a revulsion of his Protestant and meliorist conscience. Only when he had become thoroughly alienated from Christianity for ethical reasons did he draw on the idea of evolution and the techniques of scholarship to construct a new theological position.

III

Unlike the Newman brothers, James Anthony Froude was at no time an Evangelical. Before his brother Hurrell came home from Oxford with his head full of Catholic ideas, the Froude home at Dartington Rectory in Devonshire had been dominated by the "high and dry" churchmanship of his father, the archdeacon of Totnes.[24] Superficially, the change produced by Hurrell's ascendancy when Anthony was still a boy was scarcely a change at all—merely a rejuvenation of what had always been the High Church point of view. Certainly, the practical, unintellectual archdeacon, who is said to have "upheld the Bishop and all established institutions, believing that the way to heaven was to turn to the right and go straight on,"[25] seemed unconscious of any change whatever; and even Hurrell was probably not fully aware of his role as an innovator. But the High Church that arose out of the Oxford Movement is rather distantly related to the High Church of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Both, to be sure, have always insisted on the close observance of liturgical forms and stressed the importance of the sacraments and the Apostolic Succession. But with the old High Church it was at bottom a matter of maintaining the Elizabethan Catholicism-minus-Popery formula as the readiest means of steadying the ship of state, whereas with the modern High Church it has been a matter of maintaining Catholic doctrine for its own sake. Thus, the old High Church was always more patriotic than religious, and hence more Erastian than Catholic; whereas the new High Church earned its original reputation through its resistance to the claims of the state, and has been so far out of tune with English nationalist tradition as to deplore the Reformation and yearn wistfully for its eventual undoing.

[24] Herbert Paul, *The Life of Froude* (New York, 1905), p. 2.
[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.

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To which High Church, then, did Anthony belong? As a boy, he appears to have been well adjusted to the political and nationalist religion that was the family inheritance. If he was indeed converted to Tractarianism, either by his brother at home or by J. H. Newman at Oxford, it was a conversion of the mind, not of the heart. His heart seems to have remained with that bundle of John Bullish attitudes and prejudices that constituted the old High Church, while his mind, seeking a coherent theology, turned to the new High Church reluctantly and by default. He did not so much participate in the Oxford Movement as hover uncomfortably on its fringes.[26] When J. H. Newman asked him to contribute to the *Lives of the English Saints,* he agreed to write a life of St. Neot but, instead of writing it in the spirit of piety and studied credulity that Newman desired, produced instead a quite secular biographical sketch of his subject.[27]

In 1849 he published *The Nemesis of Faith,* signalizing his complete break with Tractarianism and reflecting the growing influence of Carlyle on his thinking. This little narrative essay (he called it a "tragedy") contains, among other things, a penetrating critique not only of the Oxford Movement but also of the state to which Christianity as a whole had been reduced. His skeptical tendency was not lost on the current defenders of orthodoxy, Evangelical as well as Tractarian. The book quickly achieved the signal compliment of being publicly burned by William Sewell in an Oxford lecture hall, and its author resigned his tutorship at Exeter College under pressure.[28]

Roughly the first third of the volume consists of a series of confidential letters by its protagonist, Markham Sutherland. It seems that Markham was induced by his father and against his better judgment to take holy orders, found not only his position as a clergyman but even his profession of Christianity intellectually and morally untenable, resigned his orders after explaining his difficulties to his bishop, and retired to Lake Como to think it over. In these letters the idea of evolution and knowledge of the higher criticism are plainly evident, but not as motivating forces. On the contrary, Markham was more and more disgusted and horrified at the ethical implications of the same orthodox doctrines that disgusted and horrified Francis Newman. For example, he complained as follows:

> No, Arthur, no! I can never teach this. . . . I believe that we may find in the Bible the highest and purest religion—most of all in the history of Him in whose name we are called. . . . But I must have no hell terrors, none of these fear doctrines; they were not in the early creeds, God knows whether they were

[26] *Ibid.,* pp. 21 ff.

[27] *Ibid.,* pp. 33–34. Also, Alfred William Benn, *The History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century,* 2 vols. (London and New York, 1906), II, 39 ff.

[28] Paul, *Froude,* pp. 47–48.

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ever in the early gospels or even passed His lips. He went down to hell, but it was to break the chains, not to bind them.[29]

Also, when it became necessary to explain his views to his bishop, he did not waste time on fine points of science or Biblical scholarship, but came straight to the main point: the intolerable ethical primitiveness of the vicarious-atonement principle:

> I will be candid. I believe God is a just God, rewarding and punishing us exactly as we act well or ill. . . . That each should have his exact due is *just*—is the best for himself. That the consequence of his guilt should be transferred from him to one who is innocent (although that innocent one be himself willing to accept it), whatever else it be, is not *justice*. We are mocking the word when we call it such. . . . To suppose that by our disobedience we have taken something away from God, in the loss of which He suffers, for which He requires satisfaction, and that this satisfaction has been made to Him by the cross sacrifice (as if doing wrong were incurring a debt to Him, which somehow must be paid, though it matters not by whom), is so infinitely derogatory to His majesty, to every idea which I can form of His nature, that to believe it in any such sense as this confounds and overwhelms me.[30]

Curiously enough, although Froude twice caused Markham to refer to this interpretation of the Atonement as "the Catholic doctrine,"[31] it was the same doctrine that Francis Newman attacked as typically Calvinist. Was there, then, so broad a gulf between the Catholicism of the Tractarians and the Calvinism of the Evangelicals?

The letters are followed by a little essay purportedly written by Markham in his retirement in the Italian Alps and entitled "Confessions of a Sceptic." This is anything but a defense of skepticism, although it might be described as a sad-hearted commentary on the inevitability of skepticism in modern times. Its initial premise is that religion is at bottom a matter of childhood memories and associations—that is, of the heart, not of the mind. As it grows up in the heart of a young boy, it has little enough to do with theological speculations, and even its obvious ethical anomalies produce no anxiety:

> So I was at about sixteen. Young boys take what they are told with readiest acquiescence, and difficulties are easily put away by a healthy mind as temptations of the devil. Cruelties said to have been committed by God's order in the Old Testament never struck me as cruelties; I glided on without notice over the massacres of women and children, much as good sensible people nowadays slide over the sufferings of "the masses;" condensing them into one short word, and dismissing them as briefly as the lips dismiss the sound. If misgivings ever for a moment arose, I had but to remember they were idolaters; and what was

[29] J. A. Froude, *The Nemesis of Faith* (London, 1849), pp. 18–19.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 69–71.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 68, 72.

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too bad for a people so wicked as to be that? I remember thinking it odd that I should be taught to admire Hector, and Aeneas, and Ulysses, and so many of them, when all they were idolaters too. What had we to do with the wisdom of Cicero, when he was as great a sinner as these Canaanites? But I readily laid the blame on the defects of my own understanding, I was sure it was all right; and, though I read Hume and Gibbon, I hated them cordially, only doubting whether they were greater fools or greater knaves. Why an all-knowing God, too, should require us to pray to Him, should threaten to punish us if we did not, when He knew what we wanted better than we knew ourselves; . . . nay, more, why, when as I began to be taught we could not pray without He gave us Himself the wish to pray, and the words to pray in, He yet should be angry with us when we did not do it, when He had not made us wish—this, too, seemed very odd to me, but I dismissed it all as it came, as my own fault, and most likely as very wrong.[32]

Inasmuch as Markham is clearly, in this passage at least, Froude's autobiographical mouthpiece, we may reasonably conclude that the seed of Froude's skepticism, although nurtured by the tension between the two High Churches, was planted by his growing youthful awareness of the ethical anomalies of Christian teaching as he had originally received it.

The remainder of the "Confessions" is given over to a review of the whole state of Christianity in the middle of the nineteenth century, with special emphasis on the meaning of the Tractarian movement. First, the Tractarian estimate of the desperate plight of Christianity is sympathetically presented, and Protestantism thus disposed of.[33] Then, in a few exceptionally powerful pages,[34] the Tractarian solution is shown to be both impossible and grotesque. The gist of the argument is that the secular spirit of modern civilization was radically hostile to Christianity (Froude had not sat at the feet of John Henry Newman for nothing), and (this is where he broke with Newman) that any attempt to take one's stand on "faith" and forthrightly oppose this modern spirit was merely to clarify matters, and thus make the "nemesis of faith" all the more patent.

But even this is not quite all of Markham's (and Froude's) indictment of Tractarianism. Although he recognized the force of the Tractarian criticism of "private judgment" (Froude never had anything but contempt for Protestant theology), he nevertheless blamed the Tractarians for seeking to undo the Reformation and thus, he felt, subvert the solid virtues and distinctive character of the English nation:

Unquestionably the English were Protestants in the fullest sense of the word; yet, in spite of this unhealthy symptom, the English Church had retained, apparently providentially, something of a Catholic character. . . . The question with the Tract writers was, whether, with the help of this old framework they could

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 121–22. [33] *Ibid.*, pp. 148–50. [34] *Ibid.*, pp. 152–54.

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unprotestantize its working character, and reinspire it with so much of the old life as should enable it to do the same work in England which the Roman Church produced abroad; to make England cease to produce great men—as we count greatness—and for poetry, courage, daring, enterprise, resolution, and broad honest understanding, substitute devotion, endurance, humility, self-denial, sanctity, and faith. This was the question at issue.[35]

Here, at last, the old High Church reasserted itself against the new. Even if Christianity itself be the victim, the legacy of the English Reformation must be preserved.

Froude has not favored us with an explicit statement of his practical conclusions, but these may be inferred by contrasting the subsequent careers of Markham (the tragic example to be avoided) and of himself.

Markham, while still residing on the shores of Lake Como, met and fell in love with a lonesome English lady whose husband did not understand her, developed an intense feeling of guilt on account of this love (which, exasperatingly, had never been consummated), and was finally rescued from the very brink of suicide by an English priest and former acquaintance (presumably one of those who had "gone to Rome" with J. H. Newman a few years earlier) who happened to be in the neighborhood. He thereupon broke down completely and recounted the whole story of his religious doubts, freely admitting that in allowing himself to doubt he had sinned. The priest straightway conducted him to an Italian monastery, where he remained for the rest of his days, completely broken in spirit. Being somewhat deficient in most of the Anglo-Saxon virtues enumerated above, he never resolved his dilemma: when at last he died, his doubts were as strong as ever, and likewise his conviction that doubt was sin.

But not so Anthony Froude. Except for *The Cat's Pilgrimage,* published the following year, he rarely reverted to these theological questions. Instead, with an admirable display of "broad honest understanding," he turned without further ado to the more practical aspect of the problem—the upholding of the political and cultural legacy of the Reformation against the subversive wiles of the Scarlet Beast and its English agents. The result, of course, was his *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada,* appearing in twelve stout volumes from 1856 to 1870.

Like Francis Newman, Anthony Froude sensed the incongruity between the otherworldly salvationism of his youth and the this-worldly meliorism of his time. He realized that, in an age as full of promise, or seeming promise, for the progressive amelioration of the condition of man as the nineteenth century, it was idle to tell healthy-spirited men that "the next was the only

[35] *Ibid.,* p. 151.

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real world, and this but a thorny road to it, to be trod with bleeding feet, and broken spirits";[36] and he shared the sense of outrage, natural to men under such circumstances, at the conception of God suggested by orthodox teaching. But, unlike the younger Newman, he was never a passionate meliorist, complete with a robust belief in the reality of human progress. It seems not to have occurred to him that his contemporaries were "better than their creed." He merely felt that Protestants (especially Anglo-Saxon Protestants) were obviously superior in intellect and moral character to Catholics (especially Irish and Latin Catholics). But, where Francis Newman looked at the ethical anomalies of orthodoxy and recoiled in righteous indignation, Anthony Froude looked at the same anomalies and concluded that Christianity was doomed.

IV

Mary Ann Evans never wrote a personal testament comparable to *Phases of Faith* or *Nemesis of Faith,* but she has left a collection of letters extending from her nineteenth year to the end of her life. In dealing with her, we have a type of source material that is comparatively free from distortion of memory and unconscious self-editing, but one that provides only fleeting glimpses of her religious experiences and reflections. Fragmentary as it is, however, the evidence in these letters confirms our thesis that the higher criticism and the idea of evolution were effective solvents of "faith" only in minds already alienated from Christianity as a system.

Mary Ann's father, Robert Evans, like Newman senior, was a self-made businessman, being the agent for a number of Midland landowners and a much sought consultant on matters of farm management.[37] In his practical and conservative temperament, his uncritical loyalty to the Establishment, and his tendency to deprecate both political and religious nonconformists,[38] he was a humbler, less arrogant version of Archdeacon Froude. Both he and Mrs. Evans, said to have been the prototype of Mrs. Poyser in *Adam Bede,*[39] were conscientious church people, but, lacking bookish tastes and attainments, were innocent of partisan involvement in the theological controversies of their day. The Evans home at Griff in rural Warwickshire, like the Newman home in Bloomsbury Square, got along without benefit of any definite theological orientation, although it also got along without anything approaching John Newman's library.

Consequently, it was not Mary Ann's parents but a Miss Lewis, prin-

[36] *Ibid.,* p. 152.
[37] J. W. Cross, ed., *George Eliot's Life as Related in Her Letters and Journals,* 3 vols. (New York, 1885), I, 8–9.
[38] *Ibid.,* I, 3–4. [39] *Ibid.,* I, 9.

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cipal governess at the grammar school in Nuneaton, who first indoctrinated her in Calvinistic Evangelicalism.[40] This influence was continued and deepened at a secondary school in Coventry conducted by the Misses Franklin, where she soon earned a reputation for exemplary piety.[41] From the time of her mother's death in 1836 to the time when she and her father moved to Coventry in 1841, her piety was not only exemplary but anxious. Writing to Miss Lewis in August, 1838, she could "only sigh for those who are multiplying earthly ties which, though powerful enough to detach their hearts and thoughts from heaven, are so brittle as to be liable to be snapped asunder at every breeze," and felt that "those are happiest who are not fermenting themselves by engaging in projects for earthly bliss, who are considering this life merely a pilgrimage, a scene calling for diligence and watchfulness, not for repose and amusement."[42] In March, 1839, she complained to Miss Lewis of the spiritually harmful effects of fiction reading. Amusingly enough, she exempted from her otherwise sweeping condemnation "standard works, whose contents are matters of constant reference, and the names of whose heroes and heroines briefly, and therefore conveniently, describe characters and ideas," mentioning specifically *Don Quixote, Hudibras, Robinson Crusoe, Gil Blas,* and the works of Byron, Southey, and Scott![43] As for the rest, however, she inquired, "Have I, then, any time to spend on things that never existed?"[44]

But, while her mentors were cultivating her Evangelical zeal, her reading was setting up in her a subconscious countercurrent. Around the age of eight she is said to have read part of one of the *Waverley* novels.[45] In view of her assertion in later life that Scott had been the first to unsettle her orthodoxy,[46] it would appear that her orthodoxy had been undermined before it was established. Scott's influence, of course, is to be attributed, not to his celebrated role as romanticizer of the Middle Ages, but to his catholicity of outlook, his tendency to show that there is no correspondence between a given set of religious beliefs and a given type of moral character. That the point was not lost on her is shown by her comment on the homiletical little tales of the Reverend William Gresley in a letter to Miss Lewis, May 21, 1840:

> . . . they are sure to have a powerful influence on the minds of small readers and shallow thinkers, as, from the simplicity and clearness with which the author,

[40] *Ibid.*, I, 17.
[41] *Ibid.*, I, 19, 113.
[42] *Ibid.*, I, 29.
[43] *Ibid.*, I, 36.
[44] *Ibid.*, I, 39.
[45] Edith Simcox, "George Eliot," *Nineteenth Century,* IX (June, 1881), 779.
[46] Leslie Stephen, *George Eliot* (New York, 1902), p. 27.

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by his *beau-idéal* characters, enunciates his sentiments, they furnish a magazine of easily wielded weapons for *morning-calling* and *evening-party* controversialists. . . . But it appears to me that there is unfairness in arbitrarily selecting a train of circumstances and a set of characters as a development of a class of opinions. In this way we might make atheism appear wonderfully calculated to promote social happiness. I remember, as I dare say you do, a very amiable atheist depicted by Bulwer in "Devereux;" and for some time after the perusal of that book, which I read seven or eight years ago, I was considerably shaken by the impression that religion was not a requisite to moral excellence.[47]

This is a revealing letter. From it we may reasonably infer (1) that her "impression that religion was not a requisite to moral excellence," although suppressed, was not eradicated; (2) that, for her, religion had never been an end in itself, but was to be judged according to its tendency to foster or hinder the development of "moral excellence"; and (3) that her criterion of "moral excellence" was its capacity to inspire behavior "calculated to promote social happiness." Anyone who takes such a position is already receptive to any attack on orthodoxy made in the name of a utilitarian or meliorist ethic.

Various other experiences dating from the five years or so prior to her removal to Coventry in 1841 had a similar tendency. For example, her brother Isaac had returned from a school in Birmingham imbued with High Church ideas. Although he never attained the ascendancy over her that John Henry Newman had for a while attained over Francis, or that Hurrell Froude had had over Anthony, he did manage to impress upon her that Calvinistic Evangelicalism was not the only possible approach to religion[48] and was doubtless responsible for her reading the *Tracts for the Times*.[49] In the summer of 1840, therefore, she was delighted to come across the earlier installments of Isaac Taylor's *Ancient Christianity, and the Doctrine of the Oxford Tracts,* a learned refutation of the historical part of the Tract writers' case.[50] Taylor's main argument was that by the fourth century, on which the Tractarians so heavily relied, the Church was already corrupt, and hence that pronouncements from this period had no valid claim on posterity. It occurred to Miss Evans, as it apparently did not to Taylor, that a similar argument might be used to cast a shadow on still earlier pronouncements—for example, on the Gospels. She did not immediately conclude that Christianity had not, in any period of its history, shown itself to be "requisite to moral excellence," but Mrs. John Cash (then in her teens and shortly to become Miss Evans' pupil) subsequently maintained that Taylor's work "had its influence in unsettling her views of Christianity."[51]

[47] Cross, I, 47. [48] *Ibid.*, I, 23. [49] *Ibid.*, I, 41.
[50] *Ibid.*, I, 51. [51] *Ibid.*, I, 52.

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By about 1840 Miss Evans was clearly ripe for a radical change in her religious opinions, but the actual change did not come until toward the end of the following year. Early in November, 1841, she struck up a close intellectual companionship with Charles Bray,[52] Coventry ribbon manufacturer, phrenologist, atheist, and author of *The Philosophy of Necessity*, the burden of which is that human behavior and character are determined solely by biological and environmental factors. At Bray's prompting, she read Charles Christian Hennell's *Inquiry concerning the Origins of Christianity*, a work that confirmed in her mind the skeptical reflections to which her perusal of Taylor had given rise.[53] By the middle of December she had openly renounced Christianity.[54] In February she wrote to Bray's sister, Mrs. Pears, defining her new position as follows:

> Meanwhile, although I cannot rank among my principles of action a fear of vengeance eternal, gratitude for predestined salvation, or a revelation of future glories as a reward, I fully participate in the belief that the only heaven here, or hereafter, is to be found in conformity with the will of the Supreme; a continual aiming at the attainment of the perfect ideal, the true *logos* that dwells in the bosom of the one Father. . . . Good bye, and blessings on you, as they will infallibly be on the children of peace and virtue.[55]

Now, Miss Evans did not first read Hennell, and then conclude that, for purely intellectual reasons, she was obliged to discard her childhood religion; rather, she first began to suspect that neither her own nor any other form of orthodoxy was "requisite to moral excellence," and then was relieved and heartened to discover that the Bible could be convincingly interpreted in a quite unorthodox sense. Again, it was not as though she had first been persuaded that human conduct is more plausibly explained in terms of biological and social conditioning than in terms of a depraved will, and had thereupon exchanged the latter opinion for the former; on the contrary, she first sensed a certain unreality in the Calvinist theory, and consequently was receptive to Bray's alternate theory. Besides, Bray's most important effect on her seems to have been of a different kind. By treating her as a young lady whose opinions and reflections might be of some value, he apparently drew her out and stimulated her to verbalize doubts that had been maturing in her for several years.[56]

Her failure to publish a defense of her new position comparable to *Phases of Faith* or *Nemesis of Faith* was intentional. For one thing, she was convinced that the world was moving in her direction anyway, and

[52] *Ibid.*, I, 67. [53] *Ibid.*, I, 67–68, 74. [54] *Ibid.*, I, 75. [55] *Ibid.*, I, 77.
[56] *Ibid.*, I, 114–15. Also, Charles Bray, *Phases of Opinion and Experience during a Long Life: An Autobiography* (London, n.d.), p. 73.

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that "this assuredly will occur without my proselytizing aid. . . ."[57] For another thing, she felt that a deliberate dissemination of infidel opinions could only deprive people of the "crutch of superstition"[58] that all of us still need occasionally, and that the proper business of an infidel meliorist is "to sow good seed in good (*i.e.*, prepared) ground, and not to root up tares where we must inevitably gather all the wheat with them."[59] It was in this spirit and with this constructive object in mind that she later turned to the writing of novels.

At times, however, she was capable of expressing her contempt for the ethical teachings of her former religion in vigorous language. Mrs. Cash recalled that

> "On one occasion at Mr. Bray's house at Rosehill, roused by a remark of his on the beneficial influence exercised by evangelical beliefs on the moral feelings, she said energetically, 'I say it now, and I say it once for all, that I am influenced in my own conduct at the present time by far higher considerations and by a nobler idea of duty, than I ever was while I held the evangelical beliefs.' "[60]

What she chiefly resented, however, was not so much orthodox teaching as orthodox clergymen who liked to scold and sneer at all who presumed to question such teaching. In "Evangelical Teaching: Dr. Cumming" (*Westminster Review,* October, 1855) she singled out a then popular London preacher as a particularly offensive example. The following excerpt deftly puts the finger on the root of the attack on Christian orthodoxy, and shows that in essence it had nothing to do with either science or Biblical scholarship:

> Now Dr. Cumming invariably assumes that, in fulminating against those who differ from him, he is standing on a moral elevation to which they are compelled reluctantly to look up; that his theory of motives and conduct is in its loftiness and purity a perpetual rebuke to their low and vicious desires and practice. It is time he should be told that the reverse is the fact; that there are men who do not merely cast a superficial glance at his doctrine, and fail to see its beauty or justice, but who, after a close consideration of that doctrine, pronounce it to be subversive of true moral development, and therefore positively noxious.[61]

V

It remains to relate the experiences of the three individuals considered to their time. For, despite their marked differences in temperament and background, their respective histories indicate a common pattern. In tracing this pattern, it is difficult not to feel that we have identified one of the more important themes in the religious and intellectual history of the Victorian era.

[57] Cross, I, 76. [58] *Ibid.*, I, 88. [59] *Ibid.*, I, 89–90. [60] Quoted in *ibid.*, I, 115.

[61] George Eliot, *Essays,* in *Works of George Eliot* (Boston, n.d.), p. 134.

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To begin with, their respective brands of orthodoxy, whether Evangelical or Tractarian, all revolved around the same set of interrelated doctrines—Original Sin, Reprobation, Baptismal Regeneration, Vicarious Atonement, Eternal Punishment. Froude's Anglo-Catholicism and the Calvinism of the younger Newman and Miss Evans were but variations of the same *Weltanschauung,* the focal point of which was that this life is significant only as a preparation for the next.

But "salvationism," as G. B. Shaw has called it, had lost the note of authenticity it had once had. In an earlier age men did not argue that this world is but a vale of tears that must be passed through on the way to eternal bliss or eternal damnation; they felt it and took it for granted. In the age when Francis Newman, Anthony Froude, and Mary Ann Evans were growing up, men often insisted stringently on this point because in their hearts they suspected that it might not be true. Since the late Middle Ages a quite opposite idea had gradually taken hold in men's minds and fired (or seduced) their imaginations—the idea that the world was susceptible to systematic improvement through a sustained application of human effort and intelligence. Meliorism, once an impossible utopian dream, had become for many the most meaningful and satisfying approach to life, and salvationism had been reduced to a self-conscious and openly challenged orthodoxy.

Therefore, when Francis Newman and Miss Evans were inspired by Evangelical schoolteachers and when Anthony Froude was overawed by his brother's Anglo-Catholicism, they were not initiated into an environment of "faith"; they were indoctrinated in what had become a reactionary ideology. Utilitarianism, the Industrial Revolution, the Chartist agitations, the literature of skepticism inherited from the eighteenth century, the propaganda against religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge, the various evidences of hostility to the Establishment—all of these things were as much a part of their environment as ever. In such an environment, their theological indoctrination could only call their attention to the incongruity between the theology inculcated and the spirit of the age.

In attempting to reconcile these incongruous elements, they unconsciously appraised theological doctrines in terms of meliorist ethical values (rather than the other way around, as in John Henry Newman's case), and so eventually reached the point of rebelling against these doctrines as ethically outrageous. In doing so, they probably reflected the majority tendency—even during the 1830's when the Oxford Movement was in full swing. In fact, the Tractarians seem to have been much more successful in convincing their countrymen of the necessity of choosing between Christian orthodoxy and

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the spirit of the time than in persuading them to choose the former and renounce the latter. As Froude has so clearly shown, there was a note of desperation in the Tractarian appeal that made the cause of Christianity seem ultimately hopeless. This unwitting betrayal of inner weakness played a major part in alienating Froude himself from Christian orthodoxy, although in the cases of Francis Newman and Miss Evans the evidence suggests that it played only an incidental part.

Once this sense of alienation became fixed, it created a need for a substitute *Weltanschauung*. Then, and only then, did they give serious attention to the higher criticism and the idea of evolution. The former encouraged them to challenge the authority of the Bible when it seemed to support orthodox teachings that they could no longer stomach. The latter pointed the way to an interpretation of life more in harmony with the trends and interests of the time.

Now, all three arrived at this juncture within a span of about ten years—Francis Newman, probably in the late thirties; Miss Evans, late in the autumn of 1841; Anthony Froude, possibly not until the middle or late forties. Significantly, this was also the time when the higher criticism and the idea of evolution began to attract popular notice. Lyell had published his *Principles of Geology* in 1830–1833, but it was not until 1844, when Robert Chambers anticipated Darwin with his *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation,* that evolution became a topic of general interest and anxiety. Similarly, the tendency of German Biblical scholarship had been known to some Englishmen even in Coleridge's time, but produced no general excitement until the appearance of Miss Evans' translation of Strauss in 1846.

In short, it was not until the mid-forties that a sufficient number of people had arrived at precisely that stage of dissatisfaction with the received orthodoxy where they needed to emancipate themselves from it intellectually. In the twenties and thirties, both the evolutionist principle and the higher criticism had been available but, not meeting a widely felt need, had been largely ignored; in the forties and fifties, they were avidly seized upon precisely because they did meet a widely felt need. *Nemesis of Faith* and *Phases of Faith,* appearing respectively in 1849 and 1850, unmistakably suggest that this need emanated from a growing revulsion against the ethical implications of Christian orthodoxy.

Newton Centre, Massachusetts

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Japanese Nationalism and Expansionism

HILARY CONROY

THOUGH the literature on nationalism is now extensive,[1] especially with regard to its place in European and American history, it remains an elusive subject, as difficult to define and explain as it is important to understand. And interpretations of it vary widely. Subjective treatments may exalt it in almost religious terms or condemn it as the curse of mankind,[2] and even objective and scholarly studies are by no means in complete agreement about its nature or its effects.

Nevertheless it is possible, I think, to set down certain points of agreement about nationalism which may be used as a frame of reference for this paper. (1) Nationalism is a relatively recent phenomenon[3] which arose first in western Europe as late as the eighteenth century and which has since spread around the world. (2) Nationalism is a mass phenomenon, perhaps propelled at first by a single group or class but in the end affecting all people possessed of a like cultural heritage and inhabiting a rather clearly defined geographical area. (3) Nationalism is preceded by "national consciousness," a growing awareness of and interest in this common cultural and geographical condition, which is usually first observed by intellectuals. (4) Nationalism produces strength, for it brings vigor and unity to the pursuit

[1] This was not the case as late as the 1920's, when Carlton J. H. Hayes undertook pioneer studies in the field; see bibliographical note in C. J. H. Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism* (New York, 1926), pp. 277–79. Since then, of course, much excellent work has been done by Hayes, Hans Kohn, Walter Sulzbach, Karl Deutsch, the Royal Institute of International Affairs (*Nationalism,* Oxford, 1939), and others. Lately there have appeared studies in Asian nationalism, e.g., William L. Holland, ed., *Asian Nationalism and the West* (New York, 1953); Rupert Emerson, "Paradoxes of Asian Nationalism," *Far Eastern Quarterly,* XIII (February, 1954), 131–42. Probably the best studies of Japanese nationalism are those of Masao Maruyama of Tokyo University: "Meiji Kokka no Shisō" (Ideas of the state in the Meiji period), *Nihon Shakai no Shiteki Kyūmei,* ed. Rekishigaku Kenkyū Kai (Tokyo, 1949), pp. 181–236; *Nihon Seiji Shisō shi Kenkyū* (Historical study of Japanese political ideas) (Tokyo, 1952); *Nationalism in Postwar Japan* (Tokyo, 1950); "The Ideology and Movement of Japanese Fascism," *Japan Annual of Law and Politics,* No. 1 (1952), pp. 95–128; and by Delmer M. Brown of the University of California, *Nationalism in Japan: An Introductory Historical Analysis* (Berkeley, 1955). The author is indebted to Professor Brown for use of this study in manuscript, and gratefully acknowledges his reference to it on several important points in this paper.

[2] Hayes remarks on this is his *Essays,* chapter 8, "Nationalism Curse or Blessing." See Edward Shillito, *Nationalism: Man's Other Religion* (Chicago, 1933) for a sample denunciation, and Masanobu Tsuji, *Underground Escape* (Tokyo, 1952) for an ultranationalist's rationale. M. N. Roy calls Asian nationalism an "unmixed evil." "Democracy and Nationalism in Asia," *Pacific Affairs* (June, 1952), p. 145.

[3] See Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1951), p. 3; Kohn, *Prophets and Peoples* (New York, 1947), p. 3; Walter Sulzbach, *National Consciousness* (Washington, 1943), pp. vii, 6, 14.

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of common goals. (5) There seem to be, at least, three types of nationalism: (a) revolutionary or popular nationalism (hopeful, enthusiastic, defiant of authority, often violent), which seeks to overthrow an oppressive autocratic or alien rule and establish a self-determined nation whose people rule themselves; (b) liberal or democratic nationalism (responsible, humanitarian, moderate, pacific, tolerant, confident, relaxed), which seeks to maintain the interests of its people but which is anxious for dealings with others, especially trade. At home the open society and vigorous commercial activity become characteristic of this type and its overseas manifestations may include a sort of unconscious imperialism, growing out of trade. A third type (c) is integral or state nationalism (irresponsible, arrogant, intolerant, egocentric, fearful, immoderate, aggressive), which demands strict conformity at home and engages in militant expansion abroad. It is characterized by deliberate irrationality and frantic enthusiasm, and may be rooted in economic insecurity. Its instruments are the army and the secret police.[4]

The question immediately arises whether these are really different types of nationalism or whether they are merely different stages in the process of its development, the last vicious "type" being the climax of a long course of development from the stage of national consciousness.[5] This "stage" interpretation, of course, would make "liberal nationalism" merely a preliminary sweet dream to the nightmare of integral nationalism. And under it national feeling would stand indicted as incapable of any sustained liberalism, just as under Marxist interpretation "bourgeois" enterprise stands indicted as incapable of any sustained liberal relationship with the working class.

Here we may pose the question whether the case of Japan serves to illustrate such an automatic acceleration of nationalism in a modern state from something good (or neutral) to something very bad indeed. To answer this question the author undertook to look carefully into the nature of nationalism in Japan, but in so doing he quickly became aware of the key role *expansionism* played in the shaping of this nationalism, and of the need to uncover its operative effects and at least some of its roots. Indeed its role

[4] In formulating these ideas a number of sources were helpful: Royal Institute, Kohn, Hayes, Brown; Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (London, 1945); Holland, Maruyama. Hayes in *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York, 1931) speaks of humanitarian, Jacobin, traditionalist, liberal, and integral nationalism. But the first he calls a "prototype." The others except "traditionalist" are clearly represented in these definitions, and "traditional nationalism" would seem to have some similarity to what I call "official" state nationalism later in this paper. In Hayes see especially p. 305. Royal Institute combines "revolutionary" and "liberal" nationalism in one type and differentiates this from an "aggressive" state type (pp. 330–34). Brown uses the terms "confident" [liberal?] and "fearful" [aggressive?] (pp. 5, 148, 199). Holland uses the terms "struggling," "flexible and progressive," and "ossified" to describe types of nationalism (pp. 3–4).

[5] Royal Institute, pp. 331–32.

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seemed crucial enough to justify inclusion of the word "expansionism" even in the title of this article.

Turning first to the vocabulary of nationalism, we find that the Japanese have rather more precise terms than we do. They have three words for nationalism, which, if used carefully, can render needless the long series of adjectives which I have employed to make the three types intelligible. These words are *minzoku shugi, kokumin shugi,* and *kokka shugi,*[6] each translatable as nationalism. *Shugi* in each case is simply "ism," but what is the difference between *minzoku, kokumin,* and *kokka?* The striking thing about *minzoku* is that there is no country in it. There are people (*min*) and clan, relations, type, sort (*zoku*), thus people of a like type, a race, a people. *Minzoku* is used in *minzoku jiketsu shugi* (principle of national self-determination); and national consciousness is *minzoku ishiki.* Clearly *minzoku* is our type (a) nationalism.

Kokumin combines country (*koku*) and people (*min*), one would presume in happy combination (liberal nationalism).

In *kokka* there is country (*koku*), but there are no people, hence *kokka* means literally national house,[7] or pigs under a national roof,[8] and it is not surprising that ultranationalism, literally "nation-almighty-ism" (*kokka bannō shugi*), should stem from *kokka shugi.*

Despite the understanding of nationalism implicit in their terminological description of it, the Japanese have been victims of its workings. How has this happened? Is Japan in fact an all too ominous example of the "natural" course of nationalist development whether European, Asian, or for that matter American,[9] through successive stages from national consciousness, through revolutionary and liberal nationalism, to integral nationalism. Superficially, at least, this would seem to be true, if we dismiss, as it seems we must, the idea that Japan was somehow unlike other modern nations peculiarly nationalistic from ancient times, because of a combination of factors—the god-emperor concept, a fierce sense of loyalty, geographical isolation, *bushidō,* and so on. In spite of the fact that modern Japan's ultranationalists liked to believe this and that most prewar Japanese historical writings took it for granted, it is not so.[10] In spite of the island setting,

[6] A nationalist is usually a *kokumin shugisha.*

[7] Brown suggests also "kingdom house" as perhaps the earliest meaning of this term (p. 10).

[8] The character *ka* (also read *uchi*) is actually a humble word, its reference being to *my* house, not yours. It is composed of Chinese radical no. 152 (pig) under radical no. 40 (roof). The arrogant use of this humble concept by extreme nationalists is itself an interesting, if unconscious, comment on nationalism.

[9] Hayes in his *Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* finds that "integral nationalism is far advanced among us [Americans]" (p. 320).

[10] Brown seems to me to point clearly to this conclusion. (See below notes 11 and 12.) Postwar Japanese students of nationalism do point to certain "peculiarities" in the develop-

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the emperor system, the blatant preachings of Nichiren (1222–1282), the "national" history of Chikafusa (ca. 1340), the nationalistic-sounding letters of Kanenaga to the Ming court (1370's), the ambitious schemes of Hideyoshi (1590's), the writings of the Mito school (from 1660) and Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), and the antiforeignism of the Imperial party (1854–1867), there was at most "national consciousness" in Japan before 1868. And this had only recently become articulate among the few intellectuals who rediscovered the "old literature."[11] As Delmer M. Brown says, "We sometimes forget that the powerful outside clans of Tokugawa Japan were more like independent states than part of a united nation."[12] Certainly the divisive forces of pre-1868 Japan, whether the barriers be horizontal (feudal classes), or vertical (the fiefs), were much too strong to allow the development of nationalism.

Could we say then that, from late Tokugawa national consciousness, we have emerging revolutionary nationalism which in 1867–1868 ousted the old Tokugawa regime, then ended feudalism, then worked toward representative government in Japan and toward making *la patrie* strong and rich, safe from foreign encroachments. Accomplishing this by 1900 Japanese nationalism would then enter the stage of liberal nationalism, confident, proud, yet welcoming foreigners and evaluating foreign ideas, expansive—with the Japanese merchant marine plying the sea lanes of eastern Asia, indeed the whole world, and thousands of Japanese subjects going abroad. Then in the 1930's, with depression, insecurity, fear, comes intolerant, aggressive, integral nationalism. Nationalism had run its "natural" course. Indeed, if this truly represents the Japanese case, will a similar pattern be forthcoming in India, Indonesia, and other Asian states which have recently experienced or are now experiencing revolutionary nationalism?

For Japan, at least, this manifestation of the "stage" interpretation seems to have much to commend it—on the surface. But let us look below the surface to see how well it holds up.

In the first place there was little nationalism in the leadership of the Restoration. Our first inkling of this comes in the nature of the *coup d'état* which ousted the shogun. At its climax in Kyoto in December–January, 1867–1868, we see Chōshū-Satsuma clan representatives, ably abetted by Iwakura of the court, plotting secretly to reject and sabotage the Tosa proposal

ment of Japanese nationalism. E.g., Maruyama, *Nationalism in Postwar Japan*, p. 6, emphasizes the unusual strength of its feudal, medieval roots. Round-table discussants of the subject, "Patriotism Anatomized," *Contemporary Japan* (January–June, 1951), pp. 98–101, speak of Japan's moving from "egocentricism to aggression in a single leap," unlike Western countries. But the prewar idea that some mystical nationalism pervaded Japan from earliest times (e.g., Kenzo Akiyama, *The History of Nippon* [Tokyo, 1940]) seems abandoned.

[11] Brown, pp. 1–90. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 48.

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that the Imperial party accept the shogun's resignation but that it unite with the Tokugawa to present an all-Japan united front behind the emperor.[13] They rejected this in favor of civil war which, indeed, if the Westerners had chosen to make it so, could have been ruinous to Japan's existence as an independent state. Why? Because the leaders of the *coup* were republicans, because they wanted an end to warrior-class rule in Japan? Certainly not. The Restoration itself, far from being a nationalistic revolution, may perhaps be better understood as the successful effort of a new, more up-to-date shogunate, the Hanbatsu oligarchy of Chōshū-Satsuma *samurai,* to seize power in Japan.[14] Having done so in 1868, they made a supreme effort to stabilize themselves in power—just as the Tokugawa had done in the period 1600–1641. But their methods were different. Where the Tokugawa had used *sankin kōtai* (hostages at Edo), they used *sonnō* (exaltation of the emperor, who was securely in their control); where the Tokugawa redistributed the fiefs into the *fudai-tozama* system, they called in the feudal land registers; where the Tokugawa excluded the Westerners, they sought to learn Western techniques; where the Tokugawa adopted Neo-Confucianism as a social cement, they tried Shinto. But all to the same purpose, to stabilize control, this time in the hands of the Sat-Cho clique.[15] Of course, the logic of time and situation lay behind the methods adopted. The imperial institution, reaccredited by Motoori and others, and conveniently near to Chōshū-Satsuma strongholds, had already served in the assault on eastern Japan which ended Tokugawa supremacy; the *daimyō* were by 1869 in sufficient economic trouble to look favorably on a generous financial settlement for their land registers, not the case in early Tokugawa; the Westerners were now too strong to be ousted in the seventeenth-century manner; Shinto was a natural alternative to Confucianism, and the Meiji leaders' efforts to manipulate imperial and Shintoist symbols to their advantage was not unlike the Tokugawa support of the Hayashi official Neo-Confucian school.

Where then does nationalism come in?

In the years after the Restoration the Sat-Cho oligarchy, in their newly won control of the government of Japan, faced the outside world with a more national view than that represented in their handling of the *coup d'état* of 1867–1868. It was now a part of their own self-preservation that Japan

[13] Nobutaka Ike, *The Beginnings of Political Democracy in Japan* (Baltimore, 1950), pp. 3–6; James Murdoch, *A History of Japan* (London, 1925–26), III, 767–75; Brown suggests that subsequent nationalist feelings caused writers to overlook or minimize the internal political rivalries (p. 89). Cf. Robert A. Scalapino, *Democracy and the Party Movement in Prewar Japan* (Berkeley, 1953), p. 51.

[14] Scalapino suggests this (pp. 43 and n. 4, 44–45, 51).

[15] Scalapino devotes a chapter to pointing out similarities between Meiji and Tokugawa (pp. 1–35).

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should be secure from foreign encroachments. Clearly, if foreigners controlled Japan they would not, and it is natural enough that they should represent the Japanese national interest in the effort to render Japan fully sovereign and secure. We may say that the Tokugawa had done this too, when they could, and that this is group self-interest, not nationalism. Yet it is also clear that these Meiji government leaders organized the inculcation of loyalty on the mass level for the emperor and for state Shinto, in short the symbols of the regime they created and which they controlled. To promote this they soon had not only a centralized police system, a bureaucracy trained in and loyal to their precepts, a set of hand-picked successors to themselves, a *Genrō-in* to maintain their individual influence over the course of state affairs long after they ceased active participation, but also they had such modern media as a universal education system, conscription, telecommunications, and railroads to draw the nation together, and a powerful press. These insured the penetration of "loyalty" to every corner of Japan.

Certainly we can say that this government-sponsored loyalty program fostered nationalism, nationalism of the *kokka* (state) variety, for clearly it was neither revolutionary nor liberal. It made the Japanese people conscious of their duties as subjects, humble before their gods and their emperor. But is this alone sufficient to explain the development to the all out *banzai,* do or die, nationalism of the late 1930's? I think not. The government-sponsored nationalism seems somehow cold and official. And a curious fact strikes us. For all the loyalty-inculcation machinery at their command, the oligarchs and the government they controlled were themselves unpopular from beginning to end. A long succession of mob rallies in opposition to government policies, press attacks despite censorship, assassinations and attempted assassinations of government leaders, popularly condoned, gives ample evidence of the oligarchs' desperate need for some imperial skirts to hide behind. Indeed one gets the impression that the government, for all the nationalism it cultivated, was generally on the defensive. At most it created a lukewarm "official" nationalism, which we might define as state nationalism without its fire. Yet at critical junctures we find the government oligarchs in the role of willing, or unwilling, custodians of as fiery a brand of state nationalism as ever Hitler had. What put the fire into "official" nationalism?

To understand this we must look into the wellsprings of discontent in modern Japan and into the government's abiding compromise with that discontent—expansionism. The Sat-Cho oligarchs of the 1870's set the course of modern Japan according to the following essentials: as to structure, control must remain in the hands of the oligarchs and their hand-picked successors;

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as to program, sufficient modernization and Westernization must be undertaken to insure Japan a place alongside the most powerful Western nations. Combining the two we may define this course set by the Sat-Cho oligarchs and entrusted to their successors as "controlled modernization." It was a job of such magnitude that even aside from personal desire for power, which was certainly not lacking in the oligarchs, they could claim the necessity of the most careful and steady guidance of the ship of state by the men who knew the perils best—themselves.[16]

However, everyone in Japan was not pleased with the structure or the program of the new government. Ultimate roots of discontent lay very deep in Japanese society, in the great mass of common people, the non-*samurai* class, who had endured centuries of oppression from their superiors and who after the Restoration reordering saw no relief in sight. We see their discontent at Shimabara,[17] again in the long series of desperate but futile peasant revolts in later Tokugawa times;[18] we see it far below the surface of the Restoration as commoners took up arms with a peculiar enthusiasm to attack the Tokugawa engineers of their past oppression;[19] we see it operating silently in emigration, strong enough to break even family ties.[20] This deep-laid discontent was a powerful force, and it had a large effect upon Japanese nationalism, but not in the way one might expect. It never became a really independent force for popular rights. This was because it came to the surface only through catalyzing agencies. Within itself it was voiceless. Its role was as a mute reservoir of support for upper-class enemies of the Sat-Cho oli-

[16] Most historians of Meiji Japan agree that the Sat-Cho oligarchs reigned supreme from 1873. E.g., Scalapino, p. 41, n.2; even before 1873, *ibid.*, p. 44, n.7; and long after, *ibid.*, p. 174. Professor Tōyama in his recent reappraisal of the Meiji Restoration suggests a progression in the first years of Meiji from four-clan rule (Satsuma, Chōshū, Tosa, Hizen) to two-clan rule (Satsuma-Chōshū) to Iwakura-Ōkubo absolutism to the supremacy of Ōkubo; Tōyama Shigeki, *Meiji Ishin* (Tokyo, 1951), p. 320. Even if this be true Ōkubo's assassination in 1878 made the one-man absolutism short-lived if indeed it had ever reached that point. Government by Sat-Cho clique seems more the norm for the whole Meiji era. With the institution of a peerage in 1884 they added a gilding to their power, a peerage from which their rivals, Gotō, Itagaki, Okuma, were conspicuously omitted; Chitoshi Yanaga, *Japan since Perry* (New York, 1949), pp. 168–69. In his *The Western World and Japan* (New York, 1950), Sir George Sansom likens this to a situation in England "if all Whigs in high position should come from Lancashire or Yorkshire" (p. 336). Tokyo University played a large role in helping the oligarchs perpetuate their system, for it trained the bureaucracy in "sciences important to the state." Shinobu Seizaburo, *Taishō Seiji Shi* (Political history of the Taisho era) (Tokyo, 1952), III, 794.

[17] It seems clear that Christianity was less the reason for the revolt than social and economic unrest. See Murdoch, II, chap. 22.

[18] Hugh Borton, "Peasant Uprisings in Japan of the Tokugawa Period," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (hereafter *TASJ*), 2d Series, XVI (1938), pp. 1–258; see also E. Herbert Norman, *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State* (New York, 1940), pp. 20–21; *id.*, "Andō Shōeki: The Anatomy of Japanese Feudalism," *TASJ* (1949).

[19] E. H. Norman, *Soldier and Peasant in Japan: The Origins of Conscription* (New York, 1940); Hyman Kublin, "The 'Modern' Army of Early Meiji Japan," *Far Eastern Quar.*, IX (November, 1949), 20–41.

[20] Hilary Conroy, *The Japanese Frontier in Hawaii* (Berkeley, 1953), pp. 60–64.

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garchs, the rival *samurai* groups who fought them so bitterly in early Meiji times and who formed the core of the "Liberal" opposition to the oligarchy on the one hand and the "Reactionary" opposition on the other. Utilizing lower-class discontent to generalize their own antagonism to the oligarchs, they succeeded in producing an "unofficial" nationalism so intense that the oligarchs twice almost perished in the heat before they succeeded by frantic measures in incorporating it into their anemic "official" variety and focusing it outside Japan.

The *samurai* opposition to the Sat-Cho oligarchs was built around the men who fell out or were pushed out of the Restoration coalition in 1873 and thereafter. They included the Tosa and Hizen element, Itagaki, Gotō, Etō, Okuma, and the reluctant dragon of Satsuma, Saigō. The common basis of their hatred of the government was that theirs were not the controlling voices in it. We differentiate between them as Liberals and Reactionaries because they employed different methods of attacking the Sat-Cho system, though one should bear in mind their similarity of origin and, as we shall see, the similar effect of their contributions to nationalism in Japan. Although the Liberal and Reactionary opposition were both at work through the whole course of "controlled modernization" from the 1870's to World War II, it seems proper to consider the Liberals first, for they reached their peak effectiveness early, in the 1880's and the 1890's, had most of their teeth pulled in the mid-nineties, and dragged on into the twentieth century, less and less able to command and voice the deep-laid discontent in Japanese society. The Reactionaries, on the other hand, floundered for years in voluble incoherence, then suddenly in the late 1920's amidst the bankruptcy of the Liberals, found themselves the principal voice of popular dissatisfactions; their teeth were pulled in 1936.

The Tosa-Hizen Liberals of the 1870's and 1880's had no quarrel with the oligarchy's Westernization program as such; in fact they stood on a platform demanding greater progress, which they claimed was being thwarted by Sat-Cho tyranny. After an attempt at Revolt led by Etō failed, they sought to force their way back into power by organizing political parties (the Jiyūtō and the Kaishintō) and by focusing popular discontent through them against the oligarchs. In this they spoke in the vocabulary of popular nationalism, accusing the oligarchs of betraying the interests of the people and the nation, of appeasing foreigners, and they demanded representative institutions (that their voices might be heard). Thus the gulf between the leadership of the parties (Itagaki was so class-conscious that he once advocated nine grades of *samurai*) and the populace below was obscured. Lower-class discontent rein-

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forced the rancor of disgruntled *samurai,* and the two together swelled into a roar of popular disapproval of the oligarchs and all their doings, reaching its climax in the Diet struggle, 1890–1894, the supreme effort to smash the Hanbatsu system. But in the end the gulf was very real, for the leadership of the original parties sold out to the government without forcing the establishment of a responsible parliamentary system, and the parties which followed, after the turn of the century, proved so much subject to influence from above that they became objects of scorn rather than genuine and consistent spokesmen for popular discontent. Moreover, in the process of turning aside the threat of popular nationalism which the party-populace coalition had produced in the 1880's, the oligarchs discovered a magic formula for turning the heat off themselves—expansionism. Of course, their own evil genius was not alone responsible for this. The Liberals themselves invited it. In the 1880's we see them, first in their enthusiasm and then in discouragement, as they met frustrations in their fight against the oligarchs in Japan, turning considerable attention toward Korea, organizing Korean "progressives," plotting the overthrow of the old regime on the peninsula in the hope that somehow, somewhere, in the Orient a base for Liberal operations might be secured. Thus "on to Korea" became a part of the creed of the Liberals in Japan.[21] But the liberal purpose behind it became obscured in the nationalist fury which they helped fan to flame against the "stupidly unprogressive" Korean government and the "viciously reactionary" Chinese who pulled the strings. At first, this nationalist fury was vented against the oligarchs in Japan too, for they were cautious of foreign involvement (lest it bring down the wrath of Western nations), but at last, having set up the affair in the best possible light with the West, the oligarchs climbed astride the pawing steed of popular nationalism and rode it out of Japan into Korea. During the Sino-Japanese war that followed they enjoyed unprecedented popularity, as popular enthusiasm fired official nationalism. But anticipating serious international complications they reined in as soon as possible. Complications there were—Triple Intervention, war with Russia—but compromise settlements were effected, aroused national feelings calmed or suppressed, and nationalism again became "official." Of course, some concession to popular nationalism had to be made, and the oligarchy broadened itself somewhat to take in former Liberal leaders.

However, the deep-laid discontent had only been thwarted, not really

[21] The author treated this subject in some detail in "The Japanese Seizure of Korea," a paper read at the Far Eastern Association meeting in Cleveland, April, 1953. The study will soon be ready for publication as a monograph. See also Marius Jansen, "Ōi Kentarō: Radicalism and Chauvinism," *Far Eastern Quar.,* XI (May, 1952), 305–16; Oka Yoshitake, "Jiyūtō Saha to Nashiyonarizumu, Ōi Kentarō no Baai" (The left wing of the Liberal party and nationalism, the example of Ōi Kentarō), *Shakai Gaku Hyōron* (May 1951), pp. 9–14.

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eased, and, failing to find satisfaction through Liberal leadership, it turned gradually to reinforce the Reactionaries. The reactionary opposition to the Meiji oligarchy was built around those *samurai* who never wanted or who quickly tired of the sort of foreign innovations which a modernization program required. They gathered in the 1870's under the banner of Saigō Takamori in military revolt against the new regime, were defeated and scattered, but re-emerged in militant form as the Genyōsha, Kokuryūkai, and other *rōnin*-led societies[22] and more respectably as Confucianist groups,[23] which though unable to build a case for return to Tokugawa isolation, could badger the oligarchs on the subject of betraying the "national essence" and presumably the Japanese people in going "Western style." In highly emotional terms they spoke of the virtues of Eastern civilization and called for its preservation and revival in the face of Western onslaughts.[24] In doing this they touched the consciences of vast numbers of Japanese who felt oppressed or at least uncomfortable as cogs in the machinery of modernization; sometimes they shamed even the oligarchs themselves.

But like the Liberals they too were susceptible to the enticements of expansionism, in enthusiasm envisioning themselves as stalwart champions of Confucianist virtues on the Asiatic continent as well as in Japan[25] or, in discouragement at frustrations in Japan, seeing the mainland as a place where they would be more successful. Consequently in the early days they found their chief effectiveness not in promoting a back-to-the-old-order political movement at home but like the Liberals in "on to Korea" expansion—to rescue Korea from Western (chiefly Russian) encroachment rather than from its Confucian heritage. The Russo-Japanese war was peculiarly their war, as the Sino-Japanese war had been the Liberals', though both occasions found both opposition groups for their separate reasons urging the reluctant oligarchs to stronger measures.

[22] Hilary Conroy, "Government versus 'Patriot': The Background of Japan's Asiatic Expansion," *Pacific Historical Review,* XX (February, 1951), 31–42; E. H. Norman, "The Genyosha: Origins of Japanese Imperialism," *Pacific Affairs,* XVII (September, 1944), 265–83; Taketora Ogata, "Mitsuru Toyama," *Contemporary Japan,* IX (January–December, 1940), 818–29.

[23] Warren Smith has done excellent work on these in his "Confucianism in Modern Japan" (unpub. M.A. thesis, University of California, Berkeley). Noting dominant trends from the founding of the Shibun (Confucian Culture) Society in the 1880's to the establishment of the Nippon Jukyō Senyōkai (Japanese Society for the Promotion of Confucianism) in 1934, he points to the progressive Japanese "nationalization of Confucianism," and finds it much accelerated in the 1930's. See also Kiyowara Sadao, "The Japanization of Oriental Thoughts," *Contemporary Japan,* XIII (July–September, 1944), 726.

[24] Conroy, "Government versus 'Patriot.'"

[25] Smith shows this clearly in his section on Confucianism in Korea (chap. 4). Cf. Conroy, "The Japanese Seizure of Korea"; *id.,* "Japan's War in China: An Ideological Somersault," *Pacific Hist. Rev.,* XXI (November, 1952), 367–79; Chu Funata, "Outline of the New Political Party," *Contemporary Japan,* IX (1940), 994–95, says, "This conflict [Sino-Japanese, 1937] is a war between Japan and the European powers on the stage of China" and "for the awakening of the Chinese people."

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However, although the Reactionaries could bring considerable pressure to bear on the oligarchs during the Sino-Russo-Japanese war period, it was largely through conscience pricking and/or gang tactics. They were not yet marshals of popular discontent. But their day was coming. In the 1920's as depression swelled the ranks of the discontented, the major parties, now almost indistinguishable from the bureaucracy itself, could not represent them, and new parties at the farmer-labor level, with no Itagakis or Okumas to lead them, were easily squelched. In this situation it is not surprising, especially in view of the fact that the sentiments of the conservative rural population loomed large in the thinking of principal spokesmen for the discontent, that the long-standing Reactionary argument, which held the root of all ills in Japan to be the poison of Westernization, should serve as a congenial basis of agreement between old-style *rōnin*-Confucianist reactionaries and new-style Fascist-like revolutionary rightists. The program for Japan was to be "national renovation," purification of the national polity, a return to the traditional Eastern morality. This required the purging of Western-style oligarchs, bureaucrats, politicians, and capitalists who since Meiji times had controlled the government, stood between emperor and subjects, and oppressed the latter.[26]

Right-wing revolution was brewing in Japan in the early 1930's, but expansionism saved the government again. For even as they plotted the overthrow of the oligarchy in Japan, the rightist rebels in their enthusiasm, or perhaps in anticipation of eventual failure at home, became intent upon fashioning their model state in Manchuria, then in China proper. And now again in the hour of adversity the successors to the Sat-Cho oligarchs did less skillfully what their masters had done in 1894—after hasty efforts to justify the action in Western eyes, they leaped astride the galloping popular nationalism and rode it out of Japan. Once again with the February 26, 1936, affair the revolutionary discontent was thwarted and its nonrevolutionary leaders bought off. The price paid included embracing ultranationalists like Araki[27] and Tōjō[28] and pursuing expansion to its ultimate disastrous consequences. For the apostles of expansionism, now divorced from the revolutionary protest which had helped them to power, could not afford to let the nationalist ardor cool, and the years after 1937 found them employing the whole state

[26] Conroy, "Government versus 'Patriot.'"

[27] Araki came into the vitally important position of minister of education (1938); see Brown, pp. 210–11. But he was now divorced from his revolutionary faction, which was squelched in 1936.

[28] Tōjō was a "Control" man, brought to terms with Konoye in 1937 and supported by Kido. Yanaga, *Japan since Perry*, pp. 521, 598–99. He became war minister in 1939 and premier in 1941.

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machinery to keep "official nationalism" at white heat. Clearly this was integral nationalism.

In résumé, what was the character of nationalism in prewar Japan? In the last analysis it was *kokka* (state) nationalism all the way. But to say this is not enough, for it does not explain its tremendous variations in intensity, for instance the mild, almost liberal nationalism of the 1910–1925 period versus the tension-packed brand of 1895–1896 and 1937–1941. The Sat-Cho oligarchy set the framework of Japanese nationalism by inculcating through the land its brand of state nationalism (I have called it "official" nationalism). The stress in this was on acquiescence, unquestioning acquiescence by "subjects" to whatever the emperor (meaning the oligarchs) prescribed for them, whether it be service in a military campaign, stoic acceptance of Western innovations, even insults from foreigners, or a life of poverty. There was a certain mildness about this, when the "subjects" did not try to get out of line, for the oligarchs were not madmen; they were cautious captains of the ship of state. At times it could almost pass for liberal nationalism, except that the duties of the subjects were handed down from above, not assumed voluntarily by a responsible citizenry. And public officials were bosses not servants of the people. However, "subjects" were not robots, and when their distress was keenest (in the 1880's and the late 1920's) their discontent, rising to the surface from the depths of Japanese society, gave real power to the anti-government shoutings of the Liberal and/or Reactionary opposition. In the end they did themselves no good, because the zeal and fire they engendered only served to change the relatively mild official type of state nationalism into virulent integral nationalism—once the government safety valve of expansionism had been opened.

A final word on expansionism should point out that harassed government oligarchs were apparently lulled by success into thinking expansionism a happier safety valve than it was. The initial experiment with it (Formosa in 1874) produced no serious complications; in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars the oligarchs were able to call a halt when serious trouble loomed; but in the 1930's expansionism proved unmanageable.

And a final word on nationalism should say that the case of Japan does not provide support for the "stage" theory of nationalist development, which holds that out of revolutionary and liberal nationalism will surely come ultra or integral nationalism; rather it indicates that in prewar Japan liberal nationalism, succumbing to the enticements of expansionism, never had a chance.

University of Pennsylvania

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Adolf Hitler: Taxpayer

Oron James Hale

HITLER'S tax files, maintained in the Munich Finance Office from 1925 to 1935, answer many questions with regard to the size of his income, his responsibility as a taxpayer, his claimed deductible expenses, his early indebtedness, his income from *Mein Kampf,* and his tax position during his first two years as Führer and Reich Chancellor. They reveal also that he was negligent in filing returns, frequently in arrears, and that at the end of 1934, when he was declared tax exempt by the Reich Ministry of Finance, he was delinquent in his tax payments in the amount of 405,494 Reichsmarks. His tax files also leave many important questions unanswered—the source and amount of income aside from his writings, his financial relations to the National Socialist party, and the number and amount of private gifts alleged to have been made to him.[1]

In the tax files, and on all declarations, Hitler was listed as "Schriftsteller," or "Writer," until 1933 when the occupational designation on the original file-folder was struck out and replaced by "Reichskanzler." Throughout the period the fiction was maintained by both Hitler and the tax authorities that his only income was derived from his work as a political writer. Only once was he queried as to the source of income—when he acquired an automobile, in 1925, costing 20,000 RM. The figure reported on the tax declarations was always accepted as valid, and Hitler was held to the payment of the exact amount of tax, plus penalty assessments. But the files do not indicate that his finances were ever made the subject of inquiry or investigation by the Reich tax authorities.[2]

Whether Hitler was assessed for taxes prior to 1924 is not revealed in the records. While he was confined in Landsberg prison (November 11, 1923, to December 20, 1924), an assessment form was filled out in the Finance Office

[1] Hitler's tax files for 1925–35 contain over two hundred items of which seventy-five are income and turnover tax returns and assessment forms; thirty are registry covers and receipts; and the remainder official notifications, account cards, correspondence, and memorandums. A microfilm copy of the records is in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia.

[2] German tax laws and procedures, at this time, did not require self-employed or professional persons to disclose in detail the sources of income or the nature of services rendered. Estimates of deductions, rather than provable figures, were also accepted. In general, investigations, prosecutions, and penalties for tax avoidance and falsification were considerably less rigorous than under United States laws and regulations.

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but no data entered. It bore the notation, "presently in Landsberg Prison," and a later notation, "still in Landsberg."[3]

Upon release from confinement, Hitler withdrew to Berchtesgaden, where he lived at an inn for the greater part of the next two years. He was in fact on parole, fearful of deportation as an undesirable alien, and prohibited from making political speeches in Bavaria by order of the state authorities.[4] During this period he completed and published the first volume of *Mein Kampf,* in July, 1925, and composed the second volume, which was published in December, 1926.

On May 1, 1925, Hitler was notified by the Munich Finance Office that he had failed to file a return for 1924, as well as the required quarterly declaration for the first period of 1925. A blank form was enclosed, to be returned within eight days under a penalty of a 10 RM fine, or one day in jail. Hitler complied with the regulations by returning the filing notice with the following marginal note: "Munich, May 19, 1925. I had no income in 1924 or in the first quarter of 1925. I have covered my living expenses by raising a bank loan."[5] Although Hitler ignored the summons to file quarterly returns for 1925, he acquired in February a large automobile (costing 20,000 RM), which he used for his trips to Munich and for travel incidental to reorganizing the National Socialist party. The tax office was interested and wrote requesting Hitler "at the earliest possible, to inform this office of the source of the funds used to purchase this automobile." To this inquiry Hitler crisply replied that he had raised a bank loan for the purchase of the car.[6]

When Hitler continued to ignore his obligation to file quarterly returns, the Finance Office issued a penal order (*Strafverfügung*) against him, imposing a 10 RM fine, or one day in jail. Hitler's explanation that he had been away from Munich for some months and upon his return the summons had gone undiscovered "under the mountain of mail," was brusquely rejected, as was also his request that the penal order be revoked.[7]

Fourteen days after the filing deadline, Hitler signed and returned from Dresden the required declaration for the third quarter of 1925. This is the

[3] Tax Assessment Form 1924, in the name of "Adolph Hitler, Writer, Thierschstrasse 41; born 20 April, 1889, Braunau; Catholic."

[4] To reduce the risk of deportation, Hitler formally renounced his Austrian citizenship by letter of April 7, 1925, to the authorities of the city of Linz, his legal Austrian domicile. The declaration was promptly accepted by the Austrian government, but Hitler's announced intention to acquire German citizenship was not fulfilled until 1932. (Hitler's letter, and other documents are reproduced in facsimile in the pictorial weekly, *Revue* [Munich], No. 51, Dec. 20, 1952.)

[5] Tax Declaration Notice, May 1, 1925, and Hitler's marginal note.

[6] Finance Office to Hitler, July 23, and Hitler's reply, Aug. 14, 1925.

[7] Hitler's declaration form and attached statement, Sept. 16; Finance Office reply, Sept. 28, 1925. Hitler's explanation is not too credible as all tax communications were sent by registered post.

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first voluntary return, reporting income, made by Hitler after his release from Landsberg prison. He reported a gross income of 11,231 RM for the quarter, deductible professional expenses of 6,540 RM, and interest payments on debts of 2,245 RM, leaving a net taxable figure of 2,446 RM.[8] The return was accompanied by a three-page typewritten statement, also signed and dated at Dresden, explaining and justifying the deductions for "professional expenses."[9] While there is no reference to previous correspondence or discussions, the argumentative tone of the communication suggests that Hitler's dispute with the tax authorities over professional expenses, which continued for eight years, had already begun.

In justifying his claimed deductions from income, Hitler stated that after his release from Landsberg he had raised a bank loan to cover his living costs. His trial had put him to great expense, and it was only by borrowing that he had been able to complete and publish his book. His deduction for interest on his obligations was therefore a justifiable professional expense. With regard to his other expenditures—travel expenses, and salaries of his private secretary, assistant, and chauffeur—he argued vehemently and at length that these were also deductible in as much as his political activity provided him with the materials he needed as a political writer, and also increased the sales of his book. "Without my political activity my name would be unknown, and I would be lacking materials for the publication of a political work." Maintaining that travel costs were a legitimate deduction for a writer of travel literature and that research expenditures were chargeable against a scientific book, he declared: *"Accordingly, in my case as a political writer, the expenses of my political activity, which is the necessary condition of my professional writing as well as its assurance of financial success, cannot be regarded as subject to taxation."* In a concluding paragraph he warmly affirmed his own probity:

> I am quite willing at any time to make a sworn statement with regard to my personal expenses and expenditures. The Finance Office can then see that out of the income from my book, for this period, only a very small fraction was expended for myself; *nowhere do I possess property or other capital assets that I can call my own.* I restrict of necessity my personal wants so far that I am a complete abstainer from alcohol and tobacco, take my meals in the most modest restaurants, and aside from my minimal apartment rent make no expenditures that are not chargeable to my expenses as a political writer. I instance all this so that the Finance Office will see in my representations not an attempt to avoid a tax obligation, but rather a sober proven statement of the actual circumstances. *Also the*

[8] Preliminary Income Tax Declaration, third quarter 1925, Oct. 31, 1925.

[9] The term is *Werbungskosten,* which was defined in German tax law as the costs of acquiring, maintaining, or securing the reported income. It is roughly equivalent to "costs of doing business."

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automobile is for me but a means to an end. It alone makes it possible for me to accomplish my daily work.[10]

Under date of November 11, 1925, the Finance Office acknowledged receipt of Hitler's quarterly return and the explanation of deductions. But in the final audit and determination of Hitler's income tax for the year 1925, only one half of the deductions were allowed. Upon receipt of the final statement, Hitler protested the disallowance of his deductions and the matter went before the tax review committee of the Finance Office.[11] The committee upheld the original assessment and in rendering the decision stated the reasons quite bluntly:

> This taxpayer travels mainly in order to spread his political ideas among the people and to attend to Party affairs. Also his employees are for the most part engaged in work of this kind. The stated expenditures are not in and of themselves professional expenses within the meaning of the income tax law. Since, however, this activity at the same time provides material for his work as a political writer and increases the sales of his book, one half of the claimed expenditures for travel and salaries is allowed as a deduction from income.[12]

Although his protest was rejected, Hitler thereafter continued to claim deduction of the full amount of his travel, secretarial costs, and chauffeur's wages in each annual return. The Finance Office held just as firmly to the decision made in 1926 and allowed only one half the deductions claimed.

In addition to the income tax Hitler was subject to the property tax (*Vermögenssteuer*) and the turnover tax (*Umsatzsteuer*) on the sales of *Mein Kampf*. He was required to file a property return in December, 1925, and in the section for reporting property used in professional work, he wrote: "Owned on 1 January, 1925, besides a writing table and two bookcases with books, no property. Highest value 1000 M." Filled out in his own hand and dated at Kissingen, it is the only property return in his tax files and presumably the only one he ever made.[13]

Publication of *Mein Kampf* and the semiannual receipt of royalties created a new tax obligation for Hitler. In 1926, when he received his first turnover tax declaration form for reporting receipts from sales of his book, he signed and returned it blank to the Finance Office. Thereupon the tax

[10] Hitler's italics. Itemized deductions for the quarter were: 2,245 RM interest on loans; 3,000 RM repayment of a loan; 1,500 RM travel expenses; 900 RM salary of a private secretary; 600 RM salary of an assistant; and 540 RM salary of a chauffeur.

[11] Hitler to the Finance Office, Aug. 19, 1926. He also protested the amount of the quarterly advance payments assessed for 1926, pointing out that "In this year the author's advance honorarium, which I received in 1925 for my book *Mein Kampf*, will not be received again." This protest was accepted and his advance payment reduced from 1500 RM to 750 RM, for the year.

[12] Tax Assessment Protest, Aug. 10, 1926, and Assessment Decision, Jan. 27, 1927. Hitler had to pay the costs of the appeal, amounting to 20 RM.

[13] Property Declaration for the calendar year 1925, dated Dec. 15.

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inspector assessed him for back taxes in 1925 as well as turnover tax due for 1926.[14]

Hitler contested his liability for this tax and appointed one of his political henchmen, the lawyer Hans Frank, later governor general of Poland, to represent him in his disagreement with the Finance Office. Before entering a suit, Frank wrote to the Finance Office seeking clarification. In his letter he argued that Hitler had never paid a turnover tax and that from his activity as a writer he had no income that could be considered subject to that tax. All of Hitler's writings, he declared were handled by the Franz Eher Verlag, which concern paid a turnover tax on the sales of Hitler's works. In view of this, Frank wished to know if the tax authorities still maintained that Hitler was subject to this levy. The issue was not put to a test, but after telephone conversations between one of Frank's assistants and the tax officials the complaint was withdrawn and the tax liability admitted.[15] Thereafter, until 1934, the turnover tax was assessed and collected, with occasional penalty assessments for late filing and nonfiling.[16]

The source of Hitler's income in these years was the subject of much speculation and gossip in Munich political circles. His income tax returns do not clarify the picture, for Hitler throughout the nine years of tax history recorded in these files reported as personal income only the payments received for his writings. Are we to assume, as did the Reich tax authorities, that he had no other income? Were all the gifts known to have been made to Hitler personally turned over to the party treasurer? Did he receive no salary, honorariums, or reimbursement for expenses from the party? From what sources did he pay off the bank loans which he contracted between 1925 and 1928, as reported in his tax returns? From what income did he rent, furnish, and staff the luxury apartment on Prinzregentenplatz in 1929? And, beginning in 1928, from what income did he lease and maintain Villa Wachenfeld on the Obersalzberg at Berchtesgaden? One must conclude that his reported income covered only a part of his actual expenditures, particularly between 1925 and 1930. And the assumption is strongly indicated that he reported only his receipts as an author because the accounts of his publisher were subject to inspection. Hitler's known attitude toward financial affairs

[14] Turnover Tax Declaration, 1926, filed Mar. 15, 1927; Turnover Tax Assessment Forms, 1925 and 1926, prepared July 28, 1927.

[15] Hans Frank to Finance Office, Oct. 5; Frank's representative to Finance Office, Dec. 21, 1927.

[16] The assessed turnover tax amounted to 254 RM in 1925, reached a low point of 91 RM in 1928, rose in 1930, with the issuance of a cheap edition of *Mein Kampf*, to 412 RM, and in 1933, when sales reached the million mark, amounted to 24,646 RM. The rate on gross receipts was 0.75 per cent until 1930, 0.85 per cent from 1930 to 1932, when it was increased to 2 per cent.

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suggests that all other income went unreported because it was undocumented.

The years 1925–1928 were particularly lean years for Hitler, and he had difficulty meeting his tax assessments even on reported income. He secured two postponements of the balance due on his 1925 taxes, and his quarterly payments in 1926 were made belatedly and incompletely. In January, 1926, Rudolf Hess, Hitler's private secretary, was authorized access to Hitler's tax records and appears to have handled the details thereafter.[17] Hess wrote to the Finance Office on July 24, acknowledging the payment-due notice for the second quarter taxes. A hundred marks had been paid, he wrote, and "Herr Hitler requests that payment of the balance be deferred."[18] In September, a letter, signed by Hitler, acknowledged tax arrears of 275 RM, as well as the quarterly payment coming due within the next week. Hitler requested postponement of the total until the beginning of December, at which time he expected to have the money in hand "from the publication of the second volume of my book." He would pay all accumulated taxes, plus interest, at that time. "At the moment I am not in a position to pay the taxes; to cover my living expenses I have had to raise a loan."[19] Still without the means to pay at the end of the year, Hitler requested that the balance due be deferred until the outstanding accounts with the bookstores for the sale of his book were settled, "which is anticipated in the near future." He explained that owing to the unexpectedly high extra charges on his 1925 income and church taxes it had not been possible for him to meet his original commitment.[20]

Hitler was still in arrears in 1927, owing a final payment on his 1926 taxes as well as part of his current quarterly payments. In October he wrote to the Finance Office stating that he had paid 300 RM on the current account and requesting that he be allowed to pay the balance in monthly installments.[21] Beginning in 1928, Hitler met his tax obligations with less difficulty. While he was frequently overdue, this appears to have been the result of negligence rather than inability to pay.

From 1925 to 1928 Hitler also contracted considerable indebtedness. In 1925, he reported that his living expenses had been covered by a loan and he

[17] Hitler to Finance Office, January, 1926. Although Hitler was hard pressed financially, his later description of personal hardship suffered in this period—"For years I lived on Tyrolean apples, and so did Hess"—is hard to reconcile with his expenditures for a private secretary, a personal aide, and a 20,000 RM motor car. *Hitler's Secret Conversations* (New York, 1953), p. 180.

[18] Hess wrote on an imposing letterhead: "Chancellery of Adolph Hitler, Munich 2, Schellingstrasse 50. Private Secretary (R. Hess)."

[19] Hitler to Finance Office, Sept. 23, 1926. Postponement to Dec. 10, with interest at 6 per cent, was granted.

[20] Hitler to the Finance Office, Dec. 28, 1926.

[21] Oct. 1, 1927. His request was granted. Hitler owed at this time 1,245 RM on which he made a payment of 300 RM.

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had purchased his automobile on credit. In making his tax return for the same year he claimed deductions of 2,245 RM interest on debts and 3,000 RM repayment of a note. In 1926 he reported a gross income of 15,903 RM and expenditures of 31,209 RM. The deficit, he stated, had been met by a bank loan. Another deficit of 1,958 RM in 1927 had been covered in the same way. In that year he also claimed a deduction of 1,706 RM for interest paid on loans. In the year following, his income exceeded reported expenditures and in 1929 the item of interest on loans disappears from his appended statement of deductions. Although Hitler's reported gross income in 1929 was slightly less than in 1925–1926, a financial miracle had been wrought and he had liquidated his indebtedness.[22]

As to Hitler's claimed deductions for professional expenses, the amount and the items remained fairly constant until 1930. His private secretary received 300 RM monthly, an assistant 200 RM, and his chauffeur 200 RM. Social insurance payments amounted approximately to 800 RM annually and automobile insurance and tax to about 2000 RM. His travel costs were by far the largest item. In 1926 and 1927 he deducted 240 RM for "continuation of professional training" (*Ausgaben für die Fortbildung in dem Beruf*). He deducted 1,692 RM for the purchase of books in 1930, and similar amounts in 1931 and 1932. Hitler greatly increased his deductions for travel in 1930, claiming 4,980 RM for transportation and 12,000 RM for general travel expenses. Comparable expenditures were claimed in 1931, and in 1932 a total of 26,000 RM was reported as travel costs and expenses.[23] In itemizing his claimed deductions, Hitler always maintained that the travel item was "only a fraction" of his actual expenditure.

In 1930, Hitler and the Nazi party skyrocketed to national and international prominence as they began to harvest the political fruits of the economic collapse of Germany. With the September elections to the Reichstag, in which the National Socialists won 107 seats, Hitler became a leading political figure in central Europe. This year also marks a turning point in his financial fortunes as *Mein Kampf* suddenly became a best seller in the German book stores.

Through a fortunate circumstance it is possible to determine exactly Hitler's income from sales of *Mein Kampf,* and to compare his royalties ac-

[22] The improvement in Hitler's personal financial position corresponded to the improvement in the Nazi party's fortunes. In 1929 the Nazis joined Hugenberg's Nationalists in a campaign to defeat the Young Plan and thereby gained access to the financial resources of the Hugenberg group. In the same year Hitler moved from his rooms in the Thierschstrasse to a nine-room apartment on Prinzregentenplatz in the fashionable Bogenhausen section of Munich.

[23] Income tax declarations and attached statements for the years indicated. Hitler's declaration for 1928 is missing but part of the data is given on the income tax assessment form.

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count with his tax returns. Among a small quantity of records of the Eher Verlag, confiscated at the end of the war, is a royalties ledger in which payments to authors were recorded until 1933.[24] Hitler's account shows that the first edition of *Mein Kampf,* which sold for 12 RM per volume, had a satisfactory but not spectacular sale. By 1928 sales were down to 3000 copies for both volumes. (Volume II had very low sales.) However, in May, 1930, a cheap one-volume edition, selling for 8 RM, appeared and immediately found a broad market. On this edition Hitler received royalties of ten per cent, and after January 1, 1933, fifteen per cent. An even cheaper edition of the separate volumes, selling for 2.85 RM each, was issued in September, 1932, on the same royalty basis. In the first year of distribution this edition sold 480,000 copies, and in the first year of Hitler's chancellorship sales in all editions exceeded a million copies. Hitler's income from these phenomenal sales in depression-ridden Germany is shown in the table below. The table also shows for comparative purposes his reported annual gross receipts, the royalties received from the Eher Verlag, the number of copies sold of *Mein Kampf,* and other taxable receipts not accounted for by payments from his publisher.

Year	Reported gross receipts (in RMs)	Royalties credited	Sales of *Mein Kampf*	Other receipts
1925	19,843	20,352	9,473	
1926	15,903	14,707	6,913	1,196
1927	11,494	11,494	5,607	
1928	11,818	8,318	3,015	3,500
1929	15,448	15,448	7,664	
1930	48,472	45,472	54,086	3,000
1931	55,132	40,780	50,808	14,352
1932	64,639	62,340	90,351	2,299
1933	1,232,335	*861,146	*854,127	

* to November 17, 1933

With his income tripled in 1930, and tax rates considerably increased, Hitler was presented with a substantial bill in excess of advance payments made during the year. He protested the assessment and filed an amended statement of expenditures, which left less than half his income subject to tax. When the officials proposed a compromise, Hitler rejected the offer and the appeal went to the tax review committee. As in 1926, and on the same grounds, the committee upheld the official assessment.[25]

[24] Eher Verlag *Honorar-Buch,* Hitler's account, pp. 101–19, 360–63, Adolf Hitler Collection, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

[25] Hitler to Finance Office, July 14 and Sept. 15; Finance Office to Hitler, Sept. 19; Tax Assessment Decision, Dec. 30, 1931.

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A new chapter in Hitler's record as a taxpayer opens with his appointment as Chancellor on January 30, 1933. At that time Hitler's adjutant, Julius Schaub, assumed responsibility for the details of his employer's tax affairs. Tax favors were immediately requested and secured through the Nazi State Secretary, Fritz Reinhardt, in the Reich Ministry of Finance. Reinhardt, a former teacher in a school of accounting and taxation in Thuringia, was an old party member appointed to the Ministry of Finance to effect its political co-ordination. Because of his political connections, Reinhardt was the dominant figure in the ministry and was responsible for the special treatment accorded Hitler and other party leaders in matters of taxation.

The first problem that arose in connection with the Chancellor's tax affairs concerned Hitler's state salary. Shortly after his appointment, it was announced in the press that Hitler would donate his salary as Chancellor to a fund for assistance to dependents of members of the SA, SS, and police who had been killed in political riots of the preceding years.[26] At the end of March the Finance Office Munich-East, where Hitler continued to make his returns, took cognizance of the report and the tax problem raised by this well-publicized gesture.

> The question now arises whether the Reich Chancellor is taxable for his salary in addition to his other income. The increase in the total income will give rise, as a result of the higher bracket, to a considerable rise in the income tax assessment, which would impose an unjust hardship since the Chancellor has designated his salary, in a magnanimous manner, for charitable purposes.[27]

The concern of this soft-hearted tax collector had been anticipated in Berlin, where the chief of the Reich Chancellery, State Secretary Lammers, had informed the Minister of Finance, Schwerin von Krosigk, of Hitler's decision. Krosigk thereupon wrote to Lammers that in view of Hitler's charitable action his salary would not be subject to the various taxes on income.[28] This action had the effect of separating for tax purposes Hitler's private income from his salary as Reich Chancellor. It had the additional result that Hitler's quarterly advance payments for 1933 were assessed on the basis of his 1932 income, thus greatly increasing the amount of his final payment for 1933 taxes.

Until 1933 Hitler's gross income from his writings were modest indeed.

[26] The party press bureau had announced early in February that Hitler would renounce the Chancellor's salary since he earned his own income as a writer. *Völkischer Beobachter,* Berlin ed., Feb. 7, 1933.

[27] Memo. Finance Office Munich-East to State Finance Office, Mar. 31, 1933.

[28] Letter of Mar. 15, in reply to Lammers' communication of Mar. 8, 1933. In later years, however, Hitler received the salary of his office, which in 1934 amounted to 29,200 RM salary, and 18,000 RM for official expenses. Pay card issued by Reich Central Fiscal Office, Jan. 29, 1935.

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He was treated fairly in the matter of deductions, although he did not think so, and the taxes assessed upon his net income were by no means exorbitant. But in 1933, owing to the mass sales of *Mein Kampf,* his gross income for the year rose to 1,232,335 RM, on which he was assessed income taxes amounting to 297,005 RM.[29]

When the time came for filing the annual return for 1933, another favor was requested of the Ministry of Finance—the deduction of one half the gross income for professional expenses and expenditures. Whether the approach was made directly by Hitler, or through his adjutant Schaub, cannot be determined, but the proposal was agreed to by Reinhardt, who wrote to Hitler as follows: "With reference to the extraordinary expenditures incurred by you in your capacity as Leader of the German Nation, I declare myself in agreement with your deduction of 50 per cent of gross income for professional expenditures in the tax period 1933."[30]

Even with his assessment thus reduced by one half, Hitler had a large final payment to make on his 1933 income. The tax officials followed established procedures, dispatching the final tax notice at the end of August. Payment became due at the end of September. A reminder was sent to Hitler's private office at the end of October; and on November 7, 8, 9, and 10 Inspector Vogl, who handled Hitler's returns and assessments in the Finance Office, endeavored to contact Schaub on the telephone, but without success.[31]

The tax officials were now in a delicate, if not dangerous, position. A notice of tax delinquency had been prepared but not dispatched, pending instructions or guidance from higher authority. This highly explosive document showed that Hitler was delinquent on his final payments for 1933 and

[29] The following consolidated table shows Hitler's reported income, deductions claimed and allowed, and annual taxes assessed on income from 1925 to 1934:

	Gross income (in RMs)	Deductions claimed	Deductions allowed	Net income	Accessed taxes and penalties
1925	19,843	10,285	6,265	13,578	1,552
1926	15,903	31,209	6,916	8,987	922
1927	11,494	13,452	7,979	3,515	351
1928	11,818	9,991	5,493	6,325	605
1929	15,448	9,411	4,613	10,835	1,264
1930	48,472	26,892	14,292	34,179	6,575
1931	55,132	26,488	14,644	40,488	9,130
1932	64,639	35,188	19,894	44,745	12,130
1933	1,232,335	616,167	616,167	616,618	297,005

[30] Reinhardt to Hitler, Jan. 30; action copy to the State Finance Office Munich, Mar. 29, 1934. In Hitler's tax declaration for 1933, filed on March 22, 1934, the following explanation of the deduction was made: "Wegen des Abzugs von 50 V. H. Werbungskosten weise ich auf die Entscheidung des Reichsministers des Innern [sic] vom 30. Januar 1934 hin, die sich beim Steuerakt befindet."

[31] Memo. by Dr. Lizius, chief of Finance Office Munich-East, middle November, 1934.

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his quarterly advance payments for 1934 in the amount of 405,494 RM.[32] Except for some minimal quarterly payments based on 1932 income, Hitler had ceased to pay taxes after becoming Chancellor.

Normally the delinquent account would have gone to the collections branch for action. However, on November 13, Schaub wrote direct to Inspector Vogl: "With regard to the Reich Chancellor's tax affairs, I wish to inform you that as soon as State Secretary Reinhardt returns from sick leave you will have further information. Until then I beg you to be patient." Schaub also got in touch with the Ministry of Finance in Berlin and secured its intervention. This gave rise to a cautious letter from *Oberregierungsrat* Herting, in Reinhardt's office, to Dr. Lizius, stating that he understood from Schaub that "with regard to the Führer's tax affairs some kind of decisions are be taken or payments made." Schaub wished to discuss the matter with Reinhardt, who unfortunately would not be back in his office for some time. "I would be grateful to you," Herting concluded, "if postponable decisions could be delayed until then."[33] With this, Lizius referred the problem to his superior, Dr. Ludwig Mirre, president of the State Finance Office Munich. At the same time he took care to record in memorandums for the files the final disposition of this unique tax case. On December 19, Mirre wrote to Lizius as follows:

> I have discussed the Führer's tax affairs informally with the State Secretary [Reinhardt]. We were agreed that in view of the Führer's constitutional position he is not liable to taxation and that it is a constitutional question whether and to what extent the Führer is on the same footing with a person liable to taxation. Moreover, the preparation and serving of a tax assessment notice would not in and of itself establish a legal tax obligation. All tax notices, so far as they would establish an obligation for the Führer, are without legal effect. I therefore request that until further notice nothing be undertaken in the matter, but that care be exercised to keep the records under lock and key and that the estimated taxes not be indicated as delinquent.

Thus without any action of a more formal nature Hitler was declared tax exempt and action to collect back taxes estopped. Perhaps with the historical record in mind Lizius recorded final action in the case:

> On the occasion of a recent conversation with President Mirre, I urged him to see that the Führer was informed of the planned tax exemption, since he certainly would not be indifferent to what happened to his tax affairs. President Mirre promised to speak to Herr Reinhardt about it. On February 25, 1935, President Mirre informed me by telephone that State Secretary Reinhardt had reported to the Führer on the legal and constitutional interpretation of his tax exemption in his position as Chief of State, and that the Führer was in agreement with the

[32] "Delinquent Taxes for 1933/1934," prepared by the cashier section, Oct. 20, 1934.
[33] Herting to Lizius, Nov. 27, 1934.

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views of Herrn Mirre and Reinhardt. The order to declare the Führer tax exempt was therefore final. Thereupon I withdrew all the Führer's records, including the tax cards, from official circulation and placed them under lock and key.[34]

Through a clerical error a tax declaration form was mailed to Hitler's private office in January, 1935. Down through channels came an inquiry as to why a declaration form had been sent when Hitler was tax exempt. Lizius' investigation, which he carefully recorded, revealed that the form had been dispatched at the usual mailing time because Hitler's tax exempt position had not been finally established at the end of January.[35] To prevent future embarrassment, Hitler's mailing address plate and his name card in the taxpayers' file were withdrawn on March 12, 1935—thus ending Hitler's history as a German taxpayer.

After the agreement between Hitler, Reinhardt, and Mirre that the Führer was not constitutionally liable to taxation, the Führer and Reich Chancellor enjoyed free of taxes the income from the books of Hitler the political writer and author. While the records are not available, we know that his gross income was high in subsequent years. In 1933, *Mein Kampf* had sold over a million copies in all editions. By 1940, six million copies had been issued in Germany and the book had been published in twelve foreign editions. Since 1933 it had been selling close to a million copies annually, not including its sales abroad. In 1942, Hitler boasted that *Mein Kampf,* which had just been translated into Japanese, had the largest sales of any book except the Bible and that from this income he had been able to make his handsome gifts to art galleries and museums, and to his native city of Linz.[36] He did not tell his audience that these gifts were made at the expense of the German taxpayers. On every occasion, even though he paid no taxes, Hitler would rail at the German tax administration, its officials, and their procedures and requirements.[37]

"Tax fixing"—the use of political influence to secure or extort tax favors —was not original with Hitler and other Nazi leaders, who also sought and secured deductions and exemptions in violation of the tax laws. In the case of Hitler and his lieutenants it stemmed to a large degree from Hitler's indif-

[34] Memo., Feb. 25, 1935. Mirre later became president of the Reichsfinanzhof, highest appellate court for disputed cases arising from the application of the tax laws. *Taschenbuch für Verwaltungsbeamte* (Berlin, 1943), p. 31.

[35] Memo., beginning of March, 1935.

[36] Henry Picker, *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier* (Bonn, 1951), pp. 435–36; *Organisationsplan des Eher Verlags München,* p. 3, Eher Verlag Collection, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

[37] "The fiscal system is uselessly complicated. . . . a tax which is easy to collect doesn't suit these gentlemen of the administration. . . . everything could be done by means of an extremely simple piece of apparatus, and the Chinese puzzle of declaring one's taxes would be done away with." *Hitler's Secret Conversations,* p. 195.

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ference to corruption and his personal attitude of contempt for financial probity, fiscal soundness, and orthodox finance. This was expressed on one occasion by Hitler when he quipped that "the ancient Romans were right when they created in Mercury a common god for bankers, thieves, and prostitutes."[38]

University of Virginia

[38] Karl M. Hettlage, financial adviser to Albert Speer, "Impressions of the Reich Ministry of Finance and the Attitude of the Nazi Party toward Financial Problems," report of Oct. 1, 1945, for the Historical Commission, U. S. War Department.

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Henry Clay, the Bank, and the West in 1824

HARRY R. STEVENS

THE presidential election of 1824 revealed a considerable opposition to Henry Clay in a number of western states. North of Tennessee the opposition reached its greatest numerical strength in Ohio. Clay carried Ohio in that election, but the existence and size of the opposition have seemed to require explanation. The usual explanation attributes the anti-Clay sentiment to Clay's connections with the Second Bank of the United States. The logic is quite clear. The bank aroused hostility among western men by its policies after the summer of 1818. Clay, by acting as counsel for the bank, drew some of that ill feeling toward himself.[1]

There is enough evidence to give credibility to this conclusion. The actions of the Bank of the United States against its debtors after July, 1818, drew a great deal of censure, both public and private. One important consequence was that they led to a large transfer of property from western owners into the possession of the bank itself. Henry Clay became legal adviser to the bank in 1819. Early in 1820 he became legal counsel for the bank in the state of Ohio. On October 28, 1820, he resigned the speakership of the House of Representatives, and on November 5 accepted the superintendency of the legal business of the bank in Ohio and Kentucky. The bank closed its branch office of discount and deposit in Cincinnati, one of the largest in the West, on October 3, 1820, and soon afterward put in suit its claims against its debtors. On December 21, 1820, the local bank attorney, William M. Worthington, informed a friend "that he had filed between three & four hundred principals in the Circuit Court: and that the U. S. Bank have [*sic*] no *favorites* in Cincinnati."[2]

On August 26, 1822, Clay arrived in Cincinnati and two days later attended a public dinner given in his honor at the hotel. From Cincinnati he went on to the United States Circuit Court at Columbus, and after the

[1] The problem examined here is closely related to the problem of the origins of the Jackson party in the northwestern states, but that problem is specifically excluded from present consideration.

[2] William Greene to Ethan Allen Brown, Dec. 22, 1820. E. A. Brown MSS., Ohio State Library, Columbus. The bank of the United States began to acquire real property through its agency at Cincinnati, Aug. 8, 1820. *Senate Document* no. 98 (Mar. 12, 1832), 22 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 22–36.

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court session was over he wrote to Langdon Cheves, president of the Bank of the United States:

> In coming to this place to attend the Federal Court I determined to take Cincinnati in my route that I might stimulate the agents & solicitor, if it were necessary, in their exertions to prepare the Causes of the Bank for trial. I found them sufficiently zealous in their endeavors to make full preparations. Mr. Jones came up to the Court & brought with him the principal witness, etc.

Clay's purpose was a matter of common knowledge. His letter continued:

> I have therefore the satisfaction to inform you, that we have obtained two hundred and eleven judgments, in cases issuing from the Cincinnati office alone, and that there were only about twenty causes continued.[3]

Most of the actions brought by the Bank of the United States in Ohio originated either in Cincinnati or Chillicothe, the locations of the two Ohio branches of the bank. The branch in Cincinnati was closed; the branch in Chillicothe continued in business. In 1824 Clay was considerably less popular in Cincinnati and Hamilton County than in Chillicothe and Ross County. It has appeared to some that the closing of the Cincinnati branch and the actions taken against its debtors contributed to Clay's unpopularity in that area.

Seven or eight years later a Senate committee report presented an elaborate tabulation of extensive real property transfers from western owners to the Bank of the United States. It has often been cited and appears to support the inference of a corresponding political opposition to Clay.[4]

While the bank received comparatively little attention in the newspapers of Ohio after the Supreme Court announced its decision in the case of *Osborn* v. *Bank of the United States* in March, 1824, it is quite possible that in October the voters remembered Clay's work. There is some newspaper evidence and some indication in private correspondence that resentment against the policies and actions of the bank may have been turned against Clay himself.

It is possible, however, to go beyond the reasonable implication of a transfer of resentment from the bank to its attorney, and even beyond the impressive tabulation of real property transfers to the bank. The individual names of hundreds of the men who lost property to the bank survive; they may be found in the Records of Pleas of the United States Circuit Court for the Circuit and District of Ohio. Many of those men subsequently gave their support to one or another of the presidential candidates in 1824. Although

[3] Henry Clay to Langdon Cheves, Sept. 13, 1822. Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (courtesy of R. N. Williams II, Director).

[4] *Senate Document* no. 98, 22 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 22–36.

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the information is incomplete, it is sufficiently extensive to support a fairly thorough reappraisal.[5]

The following analysis of actions from the Court Record of Pleas is confined as far as possible to the cases originating in Cincinnati. First may be considered the defendants in cases involving large sums; second, the defendants subject to large numbers of separate actions; and third, all defendants (including those in the first and second groups) who were sued by the bank.

Among the actions brought by the Bank of the United States previous to the presidential election of 1824 three involved rather large sums. One of the largest was *Bank of the United States* v. *William Greene* (*sic*), *Jacob Burnet, John H. Piatt, James Findlay, William H. Harrison, and Martin Baum.* The bank asked for $70,000 in damages. The court confirmed a judgment for $61,140.49.[6] The decision was a heavy loss to the defendants. By 1824 William Green[7] and John H. Piatt were both dead. Martin Baum was economically ruined and politically silent. James Findlay gave his public support to no presidential candidate, but as a candidate himself for Congress in October, 1824, he was supported almost entirely by the same groups of voters that favored William Henry Harrison. Harrison headed the Ohio electoral ticket for Clay. Jacob Burnet and his two younger brothers, David and Isaac, a son and a son-in-law of General Harrison, a son-in-law and a nephew of General Findlay, and a brother of John H. Piatt all signed the public call of April 30, 1824, summoning the first Clay campaign meeting in Cincinnati.

A second action was the suit by the Bank of the United States against Daniel Drake and Arthur Henrie for damages of $20,000.[8] In 1824 Major Henrie gave his public support to Jackson. His brother-in-law Dr. Drake wrote some of the most effective Clay campaign material published in the western press.

A third action of similar scale was *Bank of the United States* v. *Samuel W. Davis* (*sic*).[9] Colonel Davies was among the callers of the first local Clay

[5] The manuscript volumes are as follows: Record of Pleas, Circuit Court of the United States, Seventh Circuit, District of Ohio, *Record Book for Terms September 1821–September 1822* and *September 1823–July 1824*. The two volumes are in the recorder's office, U. S. District Court, Cincinnati, Ohio. Records of pleas from 1812 to September, 1821, and for January and July, 1823, are missing. Records showing the final disposition of the cases are not always conclusive, but Clay's letter of Sept. 13, 1822, to Cheves, the report in the *Senate Document* cited above, and an examination of a number of local real property titles indicate that the bank won almost all the actions it brought.

[6] *Record Book for Terms September 1821–September 1822*, pp. 6–9; *September 1823–July 1824*, pp. 365–66.

[7] Green is identified in the record as a partner in William Green & Co., a manufacturing concern in which the others, with the exception of Baum, were also partners. He is not to be confused with the young lawyer William Greene who was living in Cincinnati during this period.

[8] *Record of Pleas, September, 1822*, p. 413.

[9] *Record of Pleas, July, 1824*, p. 397.

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meeting, and was later a leading member of the county Committee of Correspondence for Clay.

Most of the other actions brought by the Bank of the United States were for sums of less than $6,000 each. A considerable number of the defendants were, however, sued more than once on separate actions before September, 1824. Those most frequently brought to court were Stephen Burrows, William Ferguson, James Findlay, Levi James, William Lytle, Jeremiah Neave, Thompson Neave, William Noble, Thomas Pierce, and John Sutherland. In public commitments Levi James supported Clay, and Stephen Burrows supported Jackson; the others seem to have given no public pledge.[10]

The total number of persons sued by the Bank of the United States in the United States Circuit Court in cases originating in Cincinnati prior to September, 1824, was 350. Among them a considerable number made public commitments in favor of one or another of the presidential candidates in the fall of that year. Twelve were friends of Adams, forty-four of Jackson, and forty-six of Clay. Although information is lacking on the other 248, the identification of political affiliations for almost thirty per cent of the total number provides more than a random sampling. The evidence does not show an overwhelming enthusiasm for Clay among those who lost property to the bank; but it scarcely justifies the conclusion that anti-bank feeling resulting from court action was decisive in the development of anti-Clay sentiment.

Notice should also be taken, perhaps, of the spectacular contest between the state of Ohio and the bank during the years 1819–1824. The contest culminated in the case known as *Osborn* v. *Bank of the United States*. Counsel for the bank was Henry Clay. The agent for Ohio was Ralph Osborn, who served as auditor of the state for eighteen years. His counsel included Charles Hammond, who opposed Clay in this case before the Supreme Court. In 1824 Hammond was one of the half dozen leading journalists in Ohio supporting Clay. Osborn was the most prominent of the three men composing the State Central Committee for Clay in Ohio; and in the presidential election of 1824 Clay, with thirty-eight per cent of the popular vote, carried the state.

This note is concerned essentially with the political preferences of the individual men who had lost property to the bank prior to the presidential election of 1824, but a consideration of certain broader elements of Clay's support and opposition may help to provide perspective. One is the specu-

[10] John Sutherland, merchant of Hamilton, Butler County, should not be confused with John Sutherland, a Clay man of Steubenville, Jefferson County. General William Lytle's eldest son, John S. Lytle, and his brother-in-law, Samuel W. Davies, both supported Clay.

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lative element in Ohio, which may have been alienated by the deflationary bank policies between 1818 and 1824. The individual men who constituted this element cannot easily be identified. During the preceding years of prosperity it was sometimes remarked that every one was a speculator; the term seemed to refer to everyone who gave or took credit. Among certain definite groups of financial and industrial speculators in three important towns, Cincinnati, Chillicothe, and Steubenville, available information indicates that there was no great hostility to Clay.[11] Another broad element is the rural population, which may perhaps be distinguished from the urban by its inheritance of an earlier democratic outlook and possibly Jeffersonian sympathies. It favored Clay in its voting by a slightly greater margin than did the state as a whole.[12] In the formation of political preferences among

[11] In Cincinnati four groups of individuals are proposed for consideration as representing the speculative element: bank directors; owners and partners in industrial enterprise; bank stockholders; and land speculators. A total of eighty-eight bank directors and other bank officials may be identified between 1814 and 1824; among them, forty made commitments in favor of one or another of the presidential candidates. Three favored Adams, eleven Jackson, and twenty-six Clay. The proportions varied from one bank to another; but most of the directors were merchants and representative of an important mercantile speculative element. Those who risked their capital in the industrial enterprise of the city may be represented by the partners or owners of the following firms: the Cincinnati Steam Mill, the Cincinnati Bell, Brass, and Iron Foundry, the sugar mill, the glass works, the oil mill, the Cincinnati Manufacturing Company (earlier known as the Wool and Cotton Manufacturing Company), the Steam Saw Mill, two breweries, a cotton factory, and a fulling and carding mill. Among the thirty-four men who may be identified as owners or partners in those eleven enterprises (several men were interested in more than one venture), twelve provide an opportunity to recognize political affiliations. Adams was endorsed by one, Jackson by one, and Clay by ten. The principal local bank, the Miami Exporting Company, had sold before the end of this period somewhat more than 1,800 shares of stock to about 190 stockholders. The names of seventy-nine owners of approximately 920 shares of stock between 1814 and 1824 may be found in the manuscript stock book of the company in the library of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio. Only a portion of them were engaged actively in risking their capital; but all had placed some capital at the disposal of the governing officials of the bank for speculative enterprise. Among them, twenty-one indicated a preference for a national presidential candidate, three for Adams, seven for Jackson, and eleven for Clay. Land speculation was exceedingly widespread. Thousands of men and women bought and sold lands they never saw, or sought to establish towns and sell lots on their farms. Possibly two companies formed in 1817 may be representative, the "Baum Company" and the "Piatt Company." Eleven men formed the two partnerships. By 1824 one was dead and two had moved to other states. Of the remaining eight, two had public commitments to support Jackson, and two Clay. In Chillicothe, twenty-six among twenty-eight merchants, bankers, and land speculators whose political preferences have been determined supported Clay. In Steubenville the speculative element may be represented by fifteen owners or directors of the Woollen Manufactory, the Air Foundry, the Steam Mill & Cotton Manufactory, another cotton mill, the paper mill, the brewery, the Bank of Steubenville, and the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank. Of that group none has been found as a friend of Adams, three were friends of Jackson, and six of Clay.

[12] In three urban townships the following votes were recorded: Cincinnati Twp., Hamilton Co. (Cincinnati) Adams 711, Jackson 1025, Clay 252; Scioto Twp., Ross Co. (Chillicothe) Adams 80, Jackson 63, Clay 290; Steubenville Twp., Jefferson Co. (Steubenville) Adams 25, Jackson 165, Clay 171. Turtle Creek Twp., Warren Co. (including the town of Lebanon and a considerable rural electorate) gave Adams 151, Jackson 228, Clay 112. Fairfield Twp., Butler Co. (including the town of Hamilton) gave Adams 42, Jackson 237, Clay 45. Middletown, in the same county, gave Jackson 73, Clay 92. In Cleveland Twp., Cuyahoga Co., the vote was Adams 43, Jackson 5, Clay 64. No separate returns have been found for Zanesville, Muskingum Co., but Clay carried that county with about eighty per cent of the vote. The total vote of the state was reported officially as 12,280 for Adams, 18,489 for Jackson, and 19,255 for Clay.

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the urban speculative elements and among the rural population Clay's connection with the bank seems not to have been decisive.

The direct evidence of those who were sued by the Bank of the United States and the indirect evidence of a considerable number of men representing those with similar economic interests point in the same direction. If there was a connection between Clay's work for the Bank of the United States and an organized political opposition to his candidacy in 1824, it was not a connection that can be demonstrated through the individual men who suffered economically from the bank policies. Those who lost most, and perhaps most of those who lost, were friends of Clay.

Duke University

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General History

A STUDY OF HISTORY. By *Arnold J. Toynbee,* Director of Studies in the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Research Professor of International History in the University of London. Volumes VII–X. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xxx, 772; ix, 732; vii, 759; vi, 422. $35.00.)

Mr. Toynbee is at once a historian of profound insight and a most painstaking empiricist. But he is also a mystic, prophesying. His new volumes contain additions to the edifice of doctrine set up in the first six; they contain, more profusely than the first six volumes, minor essays in the comparative interpretation of history which are not necessarily related to the main doctrine; and they contain a host of secondary researches designed to enlighten the darker corners of history where conventional historians rarely have the courage to intrude.

Some critical readers will probably think the minor adventures—for they are mostly adventures—the most valuable material in the volumes. There are, for example, comparative studies of imperial communications (VII, 80–108), legal systems (VII, 255–93), armies (VII, 318–44), and civil services (VII, 344–72) which throw much light on the character and quality of the main institutions which any large, composite state must have. The more special study of imperial frontiers and of barbarians living beyond the frontiers and eventually breaking through them (VIII, 1–81) takes Chadwick's work of forty years ago and correlates it with the work of Lattimore on the frontiers of China and with a survey of the careers of the primitive Muslim Arabs and of other transfrontier barbarians. Another very valuable passage is that about renaissances (IX, 1–166). Comparisons of unquestionably analogous phenomena of this kind are long overdue, and Toynbee's suggestion that some societies proved able to ingest and dominate their rediscoveries, while others were stultified by them, is at least worthy of serious consideration.

There are many other instructive comparative passages. The essential Toynbee, however, is the Toynbee of the rise and fall of civilizations, of "universal states," "universal churches," and the like. In approaching the additions in the new volumes to this doctrine we must take note that Toynbee sees in history "a vision . . . of God revealing Himself in action to souls that were sincerely seeking Him" (X, 2). In face of this, it is the business of the reviewer who does not find God in history to judge by results. One result was that Toynbee undertook his gigantic work. The work is, in fact, a theodicy, and we might never have had it if Toynbee had not been powerfully moved by religious yearning. The

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new volumes reveal this fully and with the utmost frankness, which the old ones did not.

In view of Mr. Toynbee's opinions, therefore, we need not be greatly surprised to meet in Volume VII the suggestion that universal churches, such as the medieval Roman Church, are a higher species of human society than civilizations and are possibly destined to replace civilizations as the frame of human society in the future (pp. 420–49). The new volumes complete Toynbee's main scheme of history, placing all the "higher religions," which are embodied in universal churches, in between the "secondary" and "tertiary" civilizations. The tertiary civilizations are those existing today, our own "Western," the "Orthodox Christian in Russia," the "Hindu," etc., and the secondary are the "Babylonic," "Indic," "Hellenic," etc. The higher religions were created by the "internal proletariat" of some of the secondary civilizations, the internal proletariat being the masses, including peoples of alien civilization brought under political subjection to the society by conquest. The churches served as means for "apparentation and affiliation" as between secondary and tertiary civilizations. The "primary" civilizations, "Egyptiac," "Sumeric," "Minoan," and two in the New World, are now completed for India and China by the "Indus Culture" and the "Shang Culture" —which, I believe, is sound, but will surely gravel the Sinologists. The primary civilizations were related (not apparented) to the secondary civilizations through religions, but not higher religions. These earlier cases of relationship occurred through religions of the "dominant minority" or of the "external proletariat." The dominant minority means the ruling clique of a civilized society in the society's later centuries when it creates little which is new; the religion in question is, in fact, the old religion of the society. The external proletariat is the barbarian invaders who overrun declining civilized societies and bring with them their own religion of anthropomorphic deities, such as the Greek Olympiad. In the new volumes the functions of these two kinds of religion are made completely clear (VII, 392–409, Table IV *ad fin.* and *passim*).

This interpretation of history is made in the light of Bergson's theory of "dynamic religion," a theory which is effectively sustained for primitive societies by the work of such anthropologists as Wilson Wallis, and Philleo Nash. I believe that the theory is equally applicable to civilized societies, but that a number of the distinctions and characterizations Toynbee makes in so applying it are either oversimplified or misconceived in the interests of his own religious preoccupation. Anybody who thinks, however, that Toynbee can for this reason be dismissed as a serious historian makes a superficial judgment.

Toynbee's main thesis is, for all its rather gross inaccuracies, a matter of vast importance. In fact, it is, in my opinion, an approach to the dominating process in the history of civilized societies as those societies have developed since their first appearance in the fourth or fifth millennium B.C. Spengler's theory was an approach also, but a more distant one, marred by far greater error than Toynbee's. There is, currently, one other version of the process, Sorokin's, but this is ex-

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pressed in a forbidding conceptual apparatus, and most historians have never heard of it. Since Toynbee's theory is so important, then, it is worth attempting here a brief (and thus inevitably dogmatic) summary of its distortions, now that the theory is completely developed.

There is no warrant for calling some civilized religions higher and thereby distinguishing them from others. Nor is any religion created by the internal proletariat. Here Toynbee has had some sort of aberration, but, as usual when he goes wrong, he nevertheless discerns something of great importance: the masses, the internal proletariat, do not create religion, but every new or reconstituted religion is created for them; it is indeed invariably brought down to their level and is not effective until it is so vulgarized. It is a reasonable guess that the re-animation of the masses with hope is the essential means whereby religion brings about the revival of a disintegrating society. There is truth in Toynbee's opinion that conquering barbarians contribute a different kind of religion from that previously established in a civilized society; it is also true that large elements in a new religious conglomeration are sometimes taken from alien civilized sources. But always the total conglomeration is a mixture, in varying proportions in different cases, from all three sources. If the later religions on the whole show less than the earlier of the barbarian element and more borrowing from other societies, that is nothing like sufficient ground for distinguishing them as higher and as producing churches; there were formidable churches in Egypt and Mesopotamia. As to who creates religions, it is always small groups of great leaders, and, if they are not already priests, as in Toynbee's cases of creation by the dominant minority, they are likely soon to become so though there are variations in the extent to which ecclesiastical leadership becomes differentiated from secular. How, incidentally, can Toynbee possibly contend that Hinduism—according to his own doctrine—was created by any but the dominant minority?

It is of lesser importance that Toynbee has several strange ideas about particular morphological developments, about both Russia and Japan for instance, and an astounding idea about the Arab caliphate being a continuation after 1000 years interval of the Achaemenian Empire. There is an infuriating passage (IX, 682–92) in which Toynbee sees his own earlier error in discerning the morphological development of Egypt, but then returns to his error on the ground that the "Old Kingdom" cannot have been a universal state because its dominant minority created a new architecture (the pyramids) and dominant minorities are not creative. It is, no doubt, true that usually there is little new creation in times of universal states, but a hard and fast dogma that there can be none is utterly unhistorical. There are, unfortunately, many other false quantities besides these.

But the new volumes contain many things of value not yet mentioned. There is an excellently well-balanced discussion of the prospects of Western civilization (IX, 406–644). The discussion of freedom and determinism in history (IX, 167–405) is abreast of the best contemporary opinion on the subject. The largely

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autobiographical matter in Volume X has its use in helping the assiduous reader to understand the author.

Mr. Toynbee was never a stylist, and in these four volumes his style is notably worse than it was in the first six. It is hideously overburdened with Biblical and classical allusions, and the syntax is constantly tortured beyond all reason to force it to carry the burden. This is a serious obstacle for any reader: reading these volumes is a task.

In spite of the frightful style, the strange distortions in the theodicean interest, and a general propensity to exaggerate some differences, this remains a great work.

Atlanta University RUSHTON COULBORN

SOCIAL SCIENCES IN HISTORICAL STUDY: A REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORIOGRAPHY. [Bulletin 64.] (New York: Social Science Research Council. 1954. Pp. x, 181. Cloth $2.25, paper $1.75.)

THIS slim volume by a committee of working historians—begun under the chairmanship of Ralph E. Turner and completed under that of Thomas C. Cochran—carries forward the direction of effort that produced the S.S.R.C.'s Bulletin 54, *Theory and Practice in Historical Study,* in 1946. Though offering an impressively useful bibliography for going further, the earlier report was primarily concerned with alerting historians to problems and perils lurking within prevailing practices and assumptions. The present volume is decidedly more positive in direction and content. Its objective is clearly stated: "The essays comprising this report are not designed to serve as a manual of historical practice, nor do they emulate earlier attempts at formal surveys of social science methods. Rather, they examine certain social science methods that may be of use to historians, in order to indicate their possibilities as well as their limitations, and to suggest grounds for believing that further progress in historical study might derive from the use of such methods" (p. 20). Careful and responsible discussions of methodology are seldom light going and collective authorship does not lessen repetitiveness and changing levels of argument. But this much said, this report offers a useful and substantial discussion of the front along which historiography seems likely to undergo its most distinctive development in the decades ahead.

The early chapters open up the problem of historical knowledge and the functions of theory, distinguishing carefully between the private cosmologies of a Spengler or a Toynbee and the more limited and testable hypotheses of social science with which the present study is solely concerned. The next chapter then undertakes a rather heroic review of concepts and theoretical points of departure in the several social sciences that historians might find useful in defining their problems and shaping their questions in various areas. Without advocating any single alliance or line of theory, this review concludes with the sobering ob-

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servation of the great economist, Alfred Marshall, that "the most reckless and treacherous of all theorists is he who professes to let facts and figures speak for themselves."

There follows a series of chapters moving closer to the problems and requirements of "the historian as social scientist": a careful discussion (chapter 4) of the nature of certain essential building blocks—concepts, selection, real and ideal types, hypotheses, theories, structure and process, and the like, into which history is led the more it becomes concerned with interpretations and causal interrelations; a chapter on change, and ways in which social science approaches can help the historian break down and analyze general factors affecting historical change; a further, more formal chapter on methods of scientific inquiry generally; and a final chapter on alternative ways of conceiving of the problem of historical synthesis at several levels, with possible social science aids thereto.

This is altogether a permissive book, a sensible book, a modest book. It deals with a difficult subject. It does not pretend to solve the problems that it raises, nor does it always present them as sharply or comprehensively as the practitioner might wish. But it brings together informed discussion and useful references on the central questions to which any seminar on this topic must turn. Taken in conjunction with such a splendid example of its teachings as has independently appeared in David M. Potter's recent book, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character,* it adds further force to a growing awareness, as Potter expresses it, that there are certain heights which history and the social sciences—whether they like it or not—will climb only if "roped together like other mountaineers."

Yale University JOHN E. SAWYER

GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR: GESAMMELTE AUFSÄTZE. By *Johan Huizinga*. Edited with an Introduction by *Kurt Köster*. [Kröners Taschenausgabe, Band 215.] (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag. 1954. Pp. xl, 387. DM 11.)

HARDLY less revealing than the avowedly "classical" works of a great historian are his miscellaneous writings. They allow us to grasp the scholar's mind at work; they have the flavor of immediacy, of intimacy, of spontaneity; they are free from the drudgery which every compendious work necessarily entails, and from the structural stays without which every greater work collapses; they are comparable to the rapid pencil or pen-and-ink sketches of the sculptor or painter. Pen-and-ink sketching itself, incidentally, happens to have been one of the auxiliaries of the late Dutch historian Johan Huizinga, as will be known to those who have chanced upon the next-to-complete edition of his sketches by C. T. van Valkenberg (*Keur van gedenkwaardige tafereelen uit de vaderlandsche historiën,* Amsterdam, 1950). It is gratifying that the editor of the present selection

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of essays, Mr. Kurt Köster, has added six samples of Huizinga's wise and amusing pen-cracks, which disclose the master of historical observation and delicate coloring to be also a draftsman and historical cartoonist of original gifts.

The volume opens with the editor's excellent biographical sketch of "Huizinga the Historian" (pp. ix–xl). No one will be surprised to learn that Huizinga started as a philologist, a Sanskritist; philological self-discipline has left its imprint on his work, especially in the meaningful interpretation of detail. Huizinga, who himself wrote and spoke in many tongues, positively enjoyed the linguistic variety of dwarfish multilingual Europe, now wedged in between the unilingual monsters of America and Russia. Significant for this attitude ("Civilization is safeguarded by variety" [p. xxxv]) is his letter to Julien Benda (pp. 359–73), whose fears and horrors of exaggerated nationalism he shared, with whose longing for a unified Europe he sympathized, but whose suggestion to make Europe linguistically uniform by using only one language—French—he detested: "Intellectual life in its infinite gradations needs a multitude of languages" (p. 370), for no single idiom renders all the shades, all the tones, which the European soul has created in many tongues over a period of thousands of years. For long an editor of the internationally-minded literary monthly *De Gids,* Huizinga's devotion to poetry and literature was almost professional. It is reflected in his "Brief Conversation on Themes of Romanticism" (pp. 257–72), a conversation about A. Bertrand's post-Romantic reverie *Gaspard de la Nuit,* from which he extracts the main features and the historical background of Romantic typology. He hails the good fortune of small nations whose citizens are bound to master several languages and therefore to acquire—more so than their big brothers—a profound understanding of others and of themselves. To the problems of small nations Huizinga often reverted—manifestly with pleasure. "The Netherland's Mediatory Position between Western and Central Europe" (pp. 327–55), a paper read in Berlin on January 27, 1933, deals with the task of his homeland as a "material and cultural agency" straddling two orbits of culture, exemplified, e.g., in the Burgundian period though not at all restricted to it. Deeply indebted to Jacob Burckhardt—his "opposite number," as it were: the "small nation" historian from the Upper Rhine ("the wisest mind of the nineteenth century" [p. xxxviii])—Huizinga, too, had the urge to understand what his métier, what history herself meant historically. In his sketch "Historical Ideals of Life" (pp. 172–58), he jokingly proposed to investigate "the influence of History on history." He was fascinated by the question "How Present Becomes Past" (pp. 119–26). In "Four Chapters on the Development of History into a Modern Science" (pp. 17–119) he treats far more than the problem of historiography: he analyzes the historical trends of the last century, the process of historical cognition, the "historical ideas," and the function or "value" of historical study in the life of modern society. Those chapters are preceded by "A Definition of the Notion of History" (pp. 1–16) and followed, later, by a paper "On the History of the Notion Middle Ages" (pp. 213–29). Of a greater book which he planned to compose

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under the title "Pre-Gothic Figures" only one figure, Alain of Lille, has really been finished (published in the *Proceedings* of the Dutch Academy, 1932), whereas "Abelard" and "John of Salisbury" (pp. 186–212) remained sketches. "Erasmus on Fatherland and Nations" (pp. 229–54) was a by-product or afterthought of his compendious book on the Dutch humanist. Two smaller papers on "Problems of Netherlandish History" (pp. 272–326) in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries round out this well-selected and prudently edited volume of essays. It brings the dead, who died an exile from Nazi persecution, back to life.

Institute for Advanced Study ERNST H. KANTOROWICZ

RANKE UND DIE GESCHICHTSTHEOLOGIE DER GOETHEZEIT. By *Carl Hinrichs*. [Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, Band 19.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1954. Pp. 254. DM 19.80.)

ONE of the truly fruitful problems of modern historiography is the question of the theological and philosophical foundation of Ranke's work. In contrast to the "metahistorical" and all too theoretical Hegel, Ranke appears almost casual and intuitive. In contrast to Burckhardt, with his emphasis on cultural history, Ranke is easily taken for a merely political historian. However, while Ranke himself reacted particularly against the speculative tendencies of Fichte and Hegel, he was not opposed to philosophies of history as such. Indeed, the young Ranke had made his way from theology and philosophy to history, and throughout his life's work he aimed at finding absolute ideas—God or the "spirit"—reflected in the concrete world. His concept of universal history was based on a union of the "empirical with the idea."

It is therefore fitting that the Ranke studies of the past decades should have been concerned with correcting the superficial view of a nontheoretical and nonprincipled Ranke. Friedrich Meinecke's studies, from his brief chapter in *Die Entstehung des Historismus* to his talk in the German Academy of Sciences in 1948, have set the tone for the "intellectualization" of Ranke. Theodore Von Laue's recent book on Ranke carefully balances the "mystic element in Ranke's process of cognition" against his philosophy of history. The latter clearly goes back to Luther, stemming more immediately from the notions of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century German humanism and idealism.

The new work on Ranke by Professor Carl Hinrichs is specifically concerned with relating Ranke to the philosophical premises of the Goethean era, which the author rightly recognizes as secularizations of Christian theological concepts. The ideas of Herder, Goethe, Fichte, the Schlegels, Schelling, and Hegel were so much "in the air" in the German republic of learning of the early nineteenth century that discussing them adds a great deal to our understanding of Ranke. It must, however, be said right here that nowhere does Professor Hinrichs explain what he has set out to do. Neither is there an introduction to the book, nor

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is the key term "Geschichtstheologie" ever adequately defined. The book appeals at best to some mystical intuitiveness in the reader. And there comes a point where even this appeal fails. The author's effort to present Plotinus as a major influence upon Ranke is not clearly developed and sufficiently documented. Moreover, it goes to the extreme of discounting Ranke's spontaneity and forcing him into an artificial scheme. It is disappointing that a book so full of learning should have the effect of obscuring rather than elucidating one of the great historians of our times.

It should be added, by way of contrast, that a recent article by Professor Eberhard Kessel in the *Historische Zeitschrift* (October, 1954) on Ranke's idea of universal history offers a clear and penetrating treatment of the theoretical premises of Ranke's work.

Smith College KLEMENS VON KLEMPERER

EUROPÄISCHE GEISTESGESCHICHTE. By *Friedrich Heer.* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1953. Pp. 727. DM 24.)

FRIEDRICH Heer's book is an intellectual history of the Western world from the early Christian centuries to the present. It centers on man as a religious, moral, and political person, and on the ideas men hold about their fate in this world and the next. It is therefore *Geistesgeschichte,* and not a history of art, letters, philosophy, or of any other formal discipline. In time it is concerned in detail with the years to 1789; a rather brief final chapter, which the author modestly entitles "Chiffren unserer Zeit, 'Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert' (1789–1945)" is in effect drawn on a different scale. Dr. Heer promises a full volume to deal in detail with this long and to us at least most puzzling and confused century.

The present volume is difficult but most rewarding. The difficulty does not lie, as it sometimes does in such sweeping works, either with a special philosophical vocabulary or with an elaborate and private scaffolding of symbolic thinking. The units—the clauses—of Dr. Heer's often very long sentences are usually crystal-clear. The trouble is that one clear idea leads on to another, and then to another, until after Dr. Heer has gone on, say from Ramon Lull forward to Leibniz and Ernst Mach and back to Nicholas of Amiens (with a number of clauses en route that simply have to be put between parentheses) even so clear and effective a clincher as "Jede Panlogik und All-Wissenschaft (von Alkuin bis Marx) will bekehren" (p. 152) does not quite put the reader at ease. It is not that Dr. Heer's chains of association are arbitrary, or that they follow a kind of Joycean stream of consciousness; on the contrary, they are logical and almost always most suggestive and stimulating. But they do demand close attention from the reader, if only because Dr. Heer's very great erudition packs his pages with allusions for which all but those readers of similar erudition—and they are not many—will have to seek explanation in works of reference. The book is

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well worth translating, but it will benefit by an analytical and explanatory index of both names and topics.

The historian who distrusts anything remotely concerned with a "philosophy of history," the strictly "nominalist" or "empiricist" historian, will not find this book profitable. Dr. Heer is not in fact a peer of Spengler, or Rosenstock-Huessy, or Egon Friedell. He is in no sense a *Schwärmer,* nor a prophet either of doom or of bliss. For one thing—and a most important thing—he has not the bad temper, the angry omniscience of such prophets. His links and juxtapositions represent real insight, and not just a desire to shock, puzzle, or show off. Still, the fact remains that he is concerned with the analysis and evaluation of the inside as well as the outside of Western culture, that he is concerned with what concerned Spengler and the rest, concerned, in fact, with *Geistesgeschichte.* Those who reverse, to the detriment of truth as well as poetry, the familiar tag to read "Es ist der Körper, der sich den Geist baut" will not profit greatly from this book.

Finally, though the book is densely packed with allusions, though it brings in with some detail most of the familiar and unfamiliar figures of Western intellectual history in these centuries, it is by no means without guiding threads. The wood is there as well as the trees. Dr. Heer summarizes his generalizations very conveniently under twelve heads in his very last pages. The central or master thesis Dr. Heer puts as follows in summary:

> Die Auseinandersetzung zwischen "Oben" und "Unten," zwischen den bisher in Herrschaftssystemen aufgetretenen Ontologien, christlichen Denk- und Glaubenssystemen, humanistischen und altrationalistischen Geistesverfassungen einerseits und dem "Untergrund," den Tiefenschichten der Person und der Völker andererseits tritt seit dem 19. Jhdt. (das für Europa bis mindestens 1945 reicht) in eine neue Phase ein [p. 661].

His development of this thesis in his volume on the nineteenth century should be most interesting.

Harvard University CRANE BRINTON

A MILITARY HISTORY OF THE WESTERN WORLD: FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO. By Major-General *J. F. C. Fuller.* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company. 1954. Pp. xiii, 602. $6.00.)

THIS is the first volume of an expansion of the author's *Decisive Battles* (1940) into a three-volume work.

It calls for one kind of review from a military analyst and another from a historian for historians. Its battle pieces are entitled to the highest marks from both. They have a sharpness and depth of treatment that only General Fuller could give them. In these descriptions he is the historian's historian, turning over every scrap of evidence research can find, seeking his answers first in testimony

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closest to the event, continually correcting and refining the picture, as a comparison of this book with its predecessor shows. Again, in these battle chapters General Fuller is the objective historian, evidently intent on testing as well as illustrating his well-known convictions about strategy, tactics, and command.

But this book is not to be set aside as tactical history. A distinctive stamp of breadth is put on it by the author's conviction that warfare cannot be understood apart from the whole history of our culture, and he has boldly undertaken his own reconstruction of the history of that culture. In short, he does not dodge the question why the battles he describes were decisive. This is the part of his work of interest to all historians. It commands respect by the earnestness and erudition of the search for truth that it reflects.

It is much less marked than the corresponding part of his 1940 book by vast generalizations and a declared philosophy of history. It is still open to two criticisms. One is its extreme unevenness. When the author gets into the "Middle Ages" his connective tissue tends to become a maze of details in which the large outlines of history disappear. The other is that many of the general views that dominate the better distilled parts of the narrative cannot be sustained by any large professional consensus and are wide open to negative historical criticism. But so are those of Toynbee or any author who attempts an all-embracing historical synthesis.

General Fuller's views of history cannot be dismissed as those to be expected of a general. His conviction that nations cease to be virile when their aim becomes security, unless security is sought in a continual expansion of their power, will probably be regarded as such. But it would have to be added that he regards this as the tragedy of mankind. Surely anyone can share the broad grounds of his admiration for Alexander or Caesar. Fewer will go with him in his evident distaste for the bourgeois spirit or the secularization of Western culture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but those who do will not all be readers imbued with the military spirit. And when he reaches the conclusion, for example, that the fall of Constantinople and of "the spiritual rampart of Rome," the papacy, in the mid-fifteenth century "threw a dust of doubt over the entire West: hence the Reformation, that economic crisis which, masquerading under a monk's cowl, ended by exalting Mammon over God," his readers will divide into camps that are not strictly military and antimilitary.

My conclusion is that General Fuller's courageous excursion into general history is one that historians should welcome and applaud. Those who make it with him will find most of it exciting, provocative, and illuminating. His observations are those of a learned, penetrating, and imaginative mind and his survey of our past has the great merit of being crystallized around a theme regarding which his interest, knowledge, and insight would be hard to match among living writers.

Washington, D. C. KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

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HISTOIRE DE L'INTERNATIONALISME. Volume II, DE LA PAIX DE WESTPHALIE JUSQU'AU CONGRÈS DE VIENNE (1815). By *Chr. L. Lange* and *August Schou*. [Publications de l'Institut Nobel Norvegien, t. VII.] (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1954. Pp. xi, 482.)

CHR. L. Lange's first volume of *Histoire de l'internationalisme* appeared in 1919 and contained a sketch of the development of internationalism from ancient times to the Treaty of Westphalia. It was the author's announced intention to prepare two more volumes, covering the period from Westphalia to the present. But his duties as secretary general of the Interparliamentary Union and as a Norwegian representative to the League of Nations so burdened him that he could not complete his research and writing, and at his death in 1938 he had finished only a third of the present work, Volume II of the proposed series. After World War II, the Lange family requested August Schou to undertake the task of finishing the volume by working from Lange's notes and of course by adding the fruits of his own study.

The opening chapter is a brief sketch of the general characteristics of the Age of Absolutism, 1648–1789. During that period the medieval political ideal of the Christian community gave way to the idea of independent states without any hierarchy, and without any means of settling their conflicts other than war or the threat of war. During the Age of Absolutism, then, the official policy of European states was a recognition of international anarchy, but among students of political affairs there were three schools: theoreticians of international anarchy, advocates of the balance of power, and those independent thinkers who concerned themselves with pacifism and international organization. Among the first group Thomas Hobbes and Baruch Spinoza were prominent, but even their writings contained thoughts which were valuable to internationalists. For instance, Hobbes's argument that there must exist within the nation an absolute social authority before which individuals must bow in the interest of all could very easily lead the thinking of men to an international organization before which nations must bow in the interest of all. Of course, Hobbes denied the possibility of such an organization, but the germ was there nevertheless.

In like manner, the balance-of-power school, although stressing the sovereignty and independence of individual states, contributed to internationalism in that they could not help viewing the states of Europe as a whole, and thus their political horizons were extended beyond the individual state.

From this point the work covers a wide selection of thinkers, peace planners, pacifists, jurists, and philosophers who advocated various types of international organization and control, or whose works contributed something to those who did so advocate. A particularly strong feature of the work is that although many different persons and topics are treated there is always a clear relationship to the general topic and to problems of the present day.

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The last three chapters of the volume dealing with the American and French Revolutions, the Napoleonic Age, and the discussions of the Congress of Vienna, well summarize and interpret a great amount of material in a relatively few pages. August Schou has made a worthy contribution to the study of internationalism.

Abilene Christian College JOHN C. STEVENS

NATIONALISM: MYTH AND REALITY. By *Boyd C. Shafer*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1955. Pp. x, 319. $5.00.) *

THIS useful book provides the best statement of our present knowledge of nationalism. Much of it can be read with profit by scholars on the subject and all of it by undergraduate students and the interested public. The author's assertion in the preface that he has devoted twenty years of his life to research on nationalism is confirmed by the fine quality of the result. The relatively brief text is buttressed by fifty-three pages of footnotes, and the entire volume shows that the items listed in the nineteen pages of bibliography have been carefully selected and studied.

The author manifests qualities of mind which this reviewer esteems. Mr. Shafer places the phenomenon of nationalism in its total cultural setting, and recognizes in practice the need for a historian to work in any and all areas of knowledge necessary for comprehending his subject. He has explored the social sciences, the humanities, and the sciences for relevant materials. He has profited, for example, from reading histories of language along with books on the biology of man and psychological studies of tensions. Equipped with this wide understanding he has asked the significant questions about nationalism, and he has avoided the main pitfalls for the student of this topic, indulgence in easy categorizing of so-called types of nationalism, analysis of insignificant ideas of insignificant individuals whose main claim to attention rests upon their ability to have found a publisher for their voluminous works, respect for verbose purple trivia, the search for nationalism anywhere and everywhere. One of the five sections of the book is devoted to the discussion of "Illusions concerning the Basis of Nations and Nationalism" and the final section to a consideration of "Delusions about Man and His Groupings." The author applies a judicious sense to the outpourings of nationalists and to writers on nationalism, and after an objective scholarly analysis he frequently calls an idea unproved or exposes it as nonsense and labels it as such. It is a pleasure to read a book in which the author so efficiently and courageously cuts through verbiage to the heart of an issue and in a modest and agreeable manner states his own considered opinion. By avoiding the usual biographical approach and by studying "the interplay of idea and institution" (preface) he is able to identify the constructive achievements

* The previous editor of the *American Historical Review* assigned this review and determined its length.

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of nationalism and at the same time to reveal the tendency toward destructive totalitarianism. Future students of the subject may well take their cue from him and work out case histories of the nationalistic significance of institutions and occupations.

The author has succeeded in portraying nationalism as a historical process—the emergence of the ingredients prior to the French Revolution, the institutionalization of the ideal since that time, the spread of it to the entire world, the development of new forces in our society which are undermining its dominance in favor of internationalism. He ends his book, as a historian should, by drawing a conclusion for the future. "For there is no basis, historical, biological, psychological, for believing this nationalism must be or will be permanent. Below the surface of their national peculiarities, men remain, so far as we know, more alike than different." Mr. Shafer has met squarely the responsibility of a scholar to use his knowledge for the guidance of the society in which he lives. The contrast which he draws between the danger from nationalism and the advantages of internationalism should be manifest to every reader.

University of Nebraska EUGENE N. ANDERSON

HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. Volume V, LE XIX^e^ SIÈCLE. I. DE 1815 A 1871: L'EUROPE DES NATIONALITÉS ET L'ÉVEIL DE NOUVEAUX MONDES. By *Pierre Renouvin.* (Paris: Librairie Hachette. 1954. Pp. 421. 1,100 fr.)

THIS work, dealing with the period 1815–1871, constitutes Volume V of a seven-volume history of international relations from the Middle Ages to the present, of which Volumes I, II, and IV have already appeared (*AHR,* October, 1953, January, 1955). Admirably maintaining the quality of its predecessors, it augurs well for the remaining volumes, soon to be published.

The present survey, enlarged and brought up to date, follows the general plan of the very useful course of lectures given by M. Renouvin and published under the auspices of the European Center of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1930. The author demonstrates his skill as a teacher, keeping a nice balance between exposition and analysis. The material is systematically organized, each of the three chronological sections being prefaced by an exposé of the political, economic, and social forces involved and being followed by a compact summary. No strikingly new viewpoints are proposed. Diplomatic history, in the author's view, yields to no simple explanation; it is in part the result of the "forces profondes," largely those of nationalism and economic growth, and in part of the deliberate acts of the "hommes d'état," those dynamic leaders of whom Cavour, Louis Napoleon, and Bismarck are outstanding examples.

Nationalism, obviously enough, has had a profound impact upon international relations. Renouvin is more guarded on the subject of economics; he recognizes the role of the *Zollverein* in German history, and he is aware of Greenfield's

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studies on economics and the Risorgimento. Nevertheless, he is at pains to point out that certain aspects of both the Italian and German unification movements can hardly be explained in economic terms. To the present reviewer it is a little curious, in the light of the repeated emphasis upon the role of the "homme d'état" (see pp. 356, 382, 394), that the personality and policies of Bismarck are not more sharply etched. Renouvin is aware of the complex nature of Louis Napoleon, recognizing the large part which, despite his failures, he played in the making of modern Europe. One will find in this volume, in contrast to the outdated works of Debidour and Bourgeois, a realization of the importance of the problems of Central and South America, of the territorial expansion of the United States, soon to be active as a world power, and of the problems of the Pacific.

The chapters are equipped with excellent bibliographies, notable for the generous inclusion of monographic and periodical material from English and American sources. Students should note, however, that the English titles have been exposed to unfortunate carelessness in proofreading. In sum the present volume constitutes the most convenient and clearest summary of diplomatic history now available for the period which it covers. It can be highly recommended as a fine example of the French gift for well informed, clearly organized, and ably presented historical writing.

Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts E. J. KNAPTON

IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE: SEVEN YEARS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS. By *Trygve Lie*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xiii, 473. $6.00.)

THE Scandinavian countries, combining the best and most progressive examples of political development with the absence of the interests and rivalries that beset the Great Powers, offer a suitable recruiting ground for such a position as that of Secretary General of the United Nations. Mr. Lie, the first to fill that office, which he held for seven years, has written an interesting book that reveals the qualifications of fairness, energy, and sincere, though not unrealistic, belief in the possibilities of the United Nations Organization.

The position of Secretary General of an organization made up of sovereign entities, usually very jealous of that prerogative, could not in any case be an easy one. As Mr. Lie points out, "when he agrees with us, governments tend to feel, the Secretary General is within his rights, and is a good fellow besides; when his views differ from ours he clearly is exceeding his authority, his reasoning is bad, and even his motives may be suspect" (p. 76). But his difficulties were enormously increased by the great ideological cleavage that dominates our time. Mr. Lie was initially the unanimous choice of the Big Five and strove hard to maintain the official impartiality of his position; in the growing estrangement between the free, or democratic, and the Soviet worlds he could not avoid

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becoming a victim of their irreconciled divergence. There are limits to the degree to which one can serve two masters at one time.

The process of deterioration had gone far enough by 1949 for Mr. Lie to feel justified in taking the initiative of a "peace mission" in 1950. His reception in Moscow in May gave him grounds for hope, although, as it was put by Stalin, "we will try to do everything we can to work along a course determined by our own and the world's best interests" (p. 229). This ambiguous statement was clarified in June when hostilities broke out in Korea. Mr. Lie's firm and unequivocal position on that issue put him in the black book of the Soviets.

This in fact has been the fundamental issue of the postwar period: is conflict between the Soviet states and the free world avoidable or not? The answer to this question rests with the governments of the great states; the United Nations can at most provide them with a useful and convenient meeting ground.

To this state of affairs Mr. Lie is not blind, and his last chapter provides as sane and fair an analysis of prospects as is to be found anywhere. The strength —hence armament—of the free world is an inevitable, if regrettable, prerequisite. But it is only a first step, for the struggle will go on for mastery of that portion of the still free world (the major part of it) which suffers from the handicaps of economic backwardness and lack of experience with the democratic process. That struggle will not be waged mainly with arms. Mr. Lie is wholly right in stressing in his closing pages the heavy responsibility that rests with that small portion of the free world that is both economically and politically advanced for understanding and leading with tactful skill the depressed millions along the path that it itself has trod.

In the ability to solve this problem lies the answer to the survival of freedom, to the preservation of peace, and then—but only then—to the possibility of a world organization with both power and meaning.

Barnard College, Columbia University RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ

Ancient and Medieval History

A HISTORY OF TECHNOLOGY. Volume I, FROM EARLY TIMES TO FALL OF ANCIENT EMPIRES. Edited by *Charles Singer, E. J. Holmyard,* and *A. R. Hall.* Assisted by *E. Jaffé, R. H. G. Thomson* and *J. M. Donaldson.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. lvix, 827, 36 plates. $23.55, £7.7s.)

TODAY, when the triumphs of Western technology are being hailed throughout the world, a volume such as this (four more are to follow) appears at an appropriate time. The chief purpose of this series, the most ambitious publication project on the history of technology ever undertaken, which was made possible by Imperial Chemical Industries Limited, "is to provide students of technology

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and applied science with some humane and historical background for their studies." The editors, convinced of the human values in our technological civilization, describe the methods and skills by which man has attained a gradual easing of his earthly lot through mastery of his environment. The volume is written in plain language, with few specialist terms, "so as to be understandable by those with a minimum of technical or scientific training."

The work is centered on the Near East, "where food production first began, where men first settled as farmers, where they first learned how to mine, extract, and use metals, and where the first civilizations arose." The reader is taken back more than half a million years to the time when primitive man first began to make and use tools, the most important of which was language. Not until man developed a language could he engage in systematic toolmaking. The discovery of means for making fire was likewise a great step forward. Of the early Stone Age industries the hand-axe was the predominant tool. While Pekin man was a systematic toolmaker he made little attempt at standardization.

Within the half million years or so of human existence, two basic economies have predominated: one, food gathering; the other, food production. While the first is characterized as the age of "savagery," and the second as the age of "barbarism," the two were not wholly exclusive (the distinction between the two is never clear). Members of the savage tribes, as the centuries passed, devised a number of tools—knives, saws, chisels, and axes—to aid in gathering food, while those who lived in the stages of barbarism began to cultivate edible plants and to domesticate animals. The centuries following the initial features of the Neolithic culture, during which "the hunter and food-gatherers first became farmers and stock-breeders," were technologically the most significant in the history of human progress.

The advent of metals (copper being one of the first) marked as great an advance over the old stone and bone tools as did the invention of firearms over the bow and arrow. The introduction of copper, and later bronze weapons, was followed by iron weapons. Later, discoveries occurred in the technology of metalworking; picture writing began to converge into hieroglyphic systems. Between 4000 and 3000 B.C. the Neolithic revolution became well established in Egypt and the Near East. The term "urban revolution" is used to describe these developments: technology played a fundamental part.

The number and the exactness of techniques for reckoning time, making time-measurements, is surprising. The methods used in developing the graphic and plastic arts, finger-drawing, engraving, and sculpture, are reviewed in detail. Rotary-motion technology, beginning in the fourth millennium with hand drills, bow-drills, and wheels, marked a significant advance in man's attempt to conquer his environment. Early fire-making techniques, the use of fuels and methods of illumination date back to Paleolithic man. In the chemical, culinary, and cosmetic arts, and in the use of pigments, early man developed a variety of materials. Cooking was done by roasting, boiling, and broiling methods. Cos-

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metics were a necessity in the blistering climates of Egypt and the Near East and developed there early.

In building technology, a review is given of the two methods dating from Mesolithic to the Bronze and Iron Age of Western Europe. While early man made slow progress in the art of metallurgy, the designs of his earliest implements have continued to modern times. The discovery of methods for extracting metals gradually brought the Neolithic culture to an end. When furnaces and crucibles were introduced, the age of metals had arrived.

Improvements in transportation technology, the use of dogs, oxen, and the horse, the opening up of travel routes, the introduction of wheeled vehicles, and the use of boats and ships had a profound effect on the divergence and intermingling of races. Standardized systems of weights and measures came relatively late. The variations in the units of measuring and the different systems of determining weights continues to confuse peoples even to this day.

The final chapter deals with ancient mathematics and astronomy. The reader discovers that no scientific studies could be undertaken in these fields until attempts had been made, however crude, to predict astronomical phenomena, such as the phases of the moon. Methods used in computing the length of seasons of the year, the appearance and disappearance of stars, the invention of periodic cycles, and finally the development of theoretical astronomy, concludes this truly *magnum opus* in the technologies of the ancient world.

University of Pittsburgh JOHN W. OLIVER

THE THEORY OF THE MIXED CONSTITUTION IN ANTIQUITY: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF POLYBIUS' POLITICAL IDEAS. By *Kurt von Fritz.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 490. $7.50.)

THREE discussions (of which this is one) have recently appeared which further the study of Polybiana. The other two are Ziegler's article "Polybios" in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* XXI, 2, 1952, cols. 1438–1578, and "The Construction of the Sixth Book of Polybius" by Brink and Walbank in *Classical Quarterly,* XLVIII (July–October, 1954), 97–122. Professor von Fritz had the privilege of reading Ziegler's article in galley proof. On the other hand, he was unable to use that of Brink and Walbank, nor they his book.

The central problem of all investigations of Polybius is composition, and, within that problem, the resolution, if possible, of the contradictions or apparent contradictions in Polybius' analysis of the Roman constitution in Book VI. The interesting fact about all three of these contributions is their movement away from a separatist and toward a unitarian theory of composition. Ziegler, to be sure, assumes two layers, one written before 160, the other before 150, but, as Walbank says in his review (*Journal of Hellenic Studies,* LXXIV [1954], 185–86), "Once one has gone as far as this, it seems more logical to admit that Book VI

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is a single whole, if a rather muddled one." In fact, this is the position of Brink and Walbank in their recent article noted above, and represents a retreat on the part of Walbank from his earlier separatist position.

Von Fritz also is a unitarian, although for a different reason, and it is instructive to compare the two approaches to the same solution. At least three different ideas are used by Polybius in his analysis of the Roman constitution: the mixed constitution, implying stability; the closed circle (*anacyclosis*), implying continuous change; and biological development (birth, prime, decay). The problem is to determine with what consistency, if any, Polybius applies these ideas to the Roman constitution. Since Polybius was not, in Zancan's happy phrase, a "pensatore rigoroso," this is not an easy task.

Walbank and Brink maintain that Polybius (in his lost *archaeologia,* preserved *secundum quid* in Cicero's *De republica*) believed that the Roman constitution had experienced a natural *anacyclosis* up to 450 (kingship into tyranny, aristocratic republic into oligarchy). At this point the Roman polity had acquired its decisive "mixed" character. Whereupon Rome stayed the movement of the cycle for a period of some 300 years (450–150). Subsequently, the motion was renewed with the transition from oligarchy to democracy. The acme of the mixed constitution was realized after Cannae (216). The concept of biological growth applies both to the simple constitutions natural to the cycle (kingship, aristocracy, democracy) and to the mixed constitution as it grows and decays within the period of the temporary arresting of the cyclic movement.

According to von Fritz, on the other hand, Polybius applies the idea of biological growth to the mixed constitution only. The Roman constitution, therefore, was *always* a mixed constitution, having already experienced birth, growth, and maturity, and being about to experience decay. The biological analogy, however, does not apply to the simple constitutions as they succeed each other in the *anacyclosis*. Here Polybius uses the metaphor of the decay of iron or wood through rust or worms. "This comparison is quite appropriate where it stands. For the simple constitutions do not grow but are made by revolutions" (p. 88).

Objections can be raised against both solutions. In the case of von Fritz, there are passages in Polybius (VI, 4, 11–13; 9, 11–14; 57, 4, and particularly 51, 3–8) which seem to apply the biological concept to the simple constitutions within the process of *anacyclosis*. The fault however lies not with the commentators but with Polybius whose political philosophy is muddled.

The author knows his literature and uses it exhaustively, but perhaps his attention may be modestly called to a few omissions. De Sanctis' discussion of the composition and publication of Polybius' work (*Storia dei Romani,* III, 1 [1916], pp. 201–19) is still fundamental. Svoboda's article "Die Abfassungszeit d. Geschichtswerkes d. Polybios" (*Philologus,* LXXII [1913], 465–83) is important in the development of the separatist tradition and influenced Kornemann (*Philologus,* LXXXVI [1931], 169–84). Among the unitarians Zancan's paper "Dottrina delle constitutioni e decadenza politica in Polibio" (*Rendiconti dell'*

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Istituto lombardo, LXIX [1936], 499–512) deserves careful reading. Finally, there are two works by Armand Delatte. The first, *Essai sur la politique pythagoricienne* (Paris, 1922), traces the idea of a mixed constitution back to the Pythagoreans; the second, a brochure entitled *La constitution des Etats-Unis et les Pythagoriciens* (Paris, 1948) is a very competent discussion of the influence of Polybius upon Montesquieu and through him upon our own founding fathers.

Von Fritz' book, as the title reveals, discusses much more than Polybius' analysis of the Roman constitution and the problems of composition raised by it, perhaps too much more. It is really two books: the first (chaps. I–V) an analysis (with historical and philosophic background) of the political theories of Polybius; the second (chaps VI–X) a constitutional history of the Roman Republic. In a work written by an expert for experts, greater economy could have been practiced. For all that, there is some advantage in collecting under one roof all the material, old and new, common and uncommon, pertaining to a particular topic, and this meticulous work will serve as a ready reference book for political philosopher and ancient historian alike.

Ohio State University W. F. McDONALD

STORIA DEI ROMANI. Volume IV, LA FONDAZIONE DELL'IMPERO. Parte II, VITA E PENSIERO NELL'ETÀ DELLE GRANDI CONQUISTE. Tomo I. By *Gaetano De Sanctis.* (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice. 1953. Pp. xii, 376. L.3500.)

THE continuation of the *Storia dei Romani* of Gaetano De Sanctis is an event of great importance to historians of ancient Rome. After thirty years of political and personal vicissitudes, during which the author was still able to make distinguished contributions to the study of Greek and Roman history, he has returned to the grand design, a fulfillment of the hopes of all who have profited by the profound learning, broad view, and fine historical judgment of the previous volumes. The first part of Volume IV, published in 1923, dealt with the military and political aspects of the period from the close of the Second Punic War to the end of the Third Macedonian (201–167 B.C.); the second now brings us a review of the development of literature, art, and religion in the third and the second centuries before Christ, and another is promised on the legal, financial, and, in general, the economic, evolution of that time. It is satisfying to note that the earlier volumes of the *Storia dei Romani,* long since out of print, are being republished by "La Nuova Italia."

At first there appears to be a certain imbalance in the treatment. The political history in Part I ends with the settlement of Macedon in 167, yet, without a continuation of the story to the fall of Carthage and the destruction of Corinth, Part II turns to cultural history, reaches back to the beginnings of Latin literature and forward to anticipate the developments of the late second and the early first century B.C. But this is what the evidence preserved and the evolution of the cul-

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tural life of Rome alike demand, and we can welcome also the opportunity it gives for a further discussion of views expressed in the earlier volumes.

The first chapter is devoted to literature and art, with a brief appendix on the plays of Terence. The review of authors, of types of literature, the discussion of problems and the citation of ancient evidence make this a notable contribution. The general theme is the success of the Romans in using the Greek authors to create an independent literature and language, filled with their own spirit and in accord with their own traditions. The originality of Naevius is emphasized, a proud Campanian, whose freedom of expression must reveal the confidence of a full citizen, and a true successor of the unknown bards who sang at banquets, but one who was more consciously searching than they for artistic finish and permanent value. Language and verse place Plautus among the leading comic dramatists of any age, but he is important too for his revelation of the culture and the tastes of his audience. There is no mention of Boyancé's revival of the dramatic satura, yet the possibility through this of associating the cantica with the native tradition would accord well with the author's point of view. Ennius, whose theme was also emphatically Roman, broke with ancient native forms and developed the hexameter, while his rhetorical tendencies and artistic aims, as against Plautus, widened the breach between the popular and the literary tongue. The exemplar of the new, educated speech, Terence, is praised for his language and his dramatic art. The author, like Norwood, appreciates his humanity and his fine delineation of character in the *Hecyra,* which the ancient audience found so difficult.

Greek influence on Roman prose writing developed more slowly, as De Sanctis holds, because those who would use it most in oratory and in history were Roman aristocrats devoted to their own traditions. But such a development would naturally wait for a generation trained by Greek tutors in the Greek rhetorical education to grow up and establish their careers. Yet the corrupting influence of the more romantic Hellenistic historiography waited still longer, until Coelius Antipater, before it appeared. This section with its fine appreciation of Cato and of the growth of the historical tradition might still have referred to Tenney Frank's "Prose of the Statesmen," in *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic,* and B. L. Ullman's "History and Tragedy," in *Transactions of the American Philological Association,* LXXIII (1942), 25 ff.

The discussion of architecture and art is surpassingly fresh, makes use of recent discoveries and discussions, and again reveals how cleverly the Romans adapted the decorative motives of the Greeks to their own traditional temple form with its high podium and concentration on the façade; and in other forms they made their own use of arch and vault. The fine arts, he holds, were slow to accomplish a fusion of the native traditions with the new Greek influences, and, except in portraiture, were even retarded by contact with the immense number of works of art and the many Greek artists that came to Rome.

The second, and by far the longer, chapter is devoted to the development and decline of the old religious tradition. Here too, the systematic review of divinities,

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from greatest to least, of rites, festivals, games, and priesthoods, with full citations of ancient evidence and modern discussions, is in itself a notable contribution, though it suffers somewhat from its very fullness and schematic rigidity. The *decemviri sacris faciundis,* he holds, were not restricted in competence to cults involving the *ritus Graecus.* He notes the increasingly political use of *obnuntiatio.* Haruspices were consulted more and more throughout the period because the senators preferred to have recourse, when the peace of the gods was disturbed, to an apparent science than to oracles. The beginning of the Ludi Saeculares is placed in 249, not a century earlier (see L. R. Taylor, *American Journal of Philology,* LV [1934], 101 ff.). Nobles like Fabius Cunctator and Cato still believed in the old gods. Religious fanaticism and unrest after the Gracchan disorders led to the special court and punishment of the errant vestals in 113, despite the humane efforts of the Pontifex Maximus. Above all, we may note the view that Roman religion, in spite of its great hospitality to foreign cults and in contrast with Roman success in adapting Greek influences in literature and art, failed because it was bound to the success of the state, achieved no high degree of spirituality, and suffered no testing through a "provvida sventura" which might have given it vitality when the inner organization of the state broke down.

This is a most important work in the author's own splendid tradition.

Bryn Mawr College T. Robert S. Broughton

JUVENAL THE SATIRIST: A STUDY. By *Gilbert Highet.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xviii, 373. $4.80.)

Although the satires of Juvenal have been studied in detail for centuries, no such comprehensive treatment of the man and his work as Professor Highet's has yet been published. The evidence for Juvenal's life, and a sensible reconstruction of its events, precedes a detailed analysis of the satires, in which the contents are discussed in relation to the history of their own and later periods, and the ideas are related to classical and European thought. It is refreshing to read a treatment of Juvenal in which his works are presented primarily as literature, not as evidence for the social practices of the empire. Not that Highet ignores Juvenal's value as a source for social history on a large scale, but he places him in a broad context as one who diagnosed the basic weaknesses of the empire. He emphasizes Juvenal's constant recurrence to the theme of the corrupting influences of wealth and power used without responsibility. Highet also shows more clearly than most critics of Juvenal the development of his character, the waning of his violent and destructive indignation to a more mellow and constructive interest in the problems of the empire. Throughout this section Highet quotes the text generously and translates it effectively, calling attention to many of its peculiar felicities. In view of this it is perhaps captious to complain that in the final treatment of the author as a poet only three and a half pages are devoted to his style, which to

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many would seem Juvenal's chief claim to greatness. A fuller treatment of the material packed into the notes on these pages would have been welcome.

It is something of an innovation for a classical scholar to include in his work on a classical author a detailed survey of his survival and later influence, but Highet rightly points out that the judgment of later generations sheds more light on the true value of a work than contemporary criticism ever can. In view of the thoroughness of Knoche's work on the manuscripts of Juvenal, Highet treats the survival of the text only in its broadest outlines, but he lists for us what must surely be every European writer who ever quoted, paraphrased, or referred to Juvenal. In this section the supply of facts is so generous, and presented so compactly, that the reader sometimes feels dazed by the barrage of information and finds less pleasure in these pages than in the earlier ones. Most of the material here has, however, never been put together before and is illuminating for the story of the part played by the classics in European thought and literature.

A critical bibliography of 81 items is almost overshadowed by 106 pages of notes in which it seems that every topic even remotely related to Juvenal has been discussed.

To sum up, Professor Highet's book tells us all we know or need to know about Juvenal. No secondary discussion can give one the full impact of the author's personality, or the style of the original, which takes one into the clamorous, filthy, magnificent, imperial city more vividly than any other work in Latin, but Highet comes as close to it as is possible. Classicists and scholars in other fields, for both of whom he wrote, will be grateful to him.

Bryn Mawr College AGNES KIRSOPP MICHELS

THE GROWTH OF PAPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE MIDDLE AGES: A STUDY IN THE IDEOLOGICAL RELATION OF CLERICAL TO LAY POWER. By *Walter Ullmann,* University Lecturer in Medieval History, Cambridge. (London: Methuen and Company. 1955. Pp. xviii, 482. 42*s*.)

THIS informative, provocative book concentrates on a single theme: the persistence of the hierocratic theory of papal government from the end of the fourth century to the middle of the twelfth century. It is set in a broader frame of reference and covers an earlier period than the three books and dozen or more articles which Dr. Ullmann has published within the past decade.

A summary of the development of its thesis underrates the substance of the book. The logically consistent hierocratic scheme was grounded in a unified, organic Christian society in which status determined function and over which the pope as the sole vicar of St. Peter possessed *auctoritas,* while the emperor had only *potestas*. Gelasius and Isidore of Seville set the theoretical bases; the protests of Gregory I and his immediate successors against the caesaropapism of Constantinople were strengthened by the expansion of the Roman Church to areas outside

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of the imperial framework. In the eighth century the papacy extricated itself from the imperial nexus by anointing the Frankish king as "the patrician of the Romans" which is interpreted as "protector of Christians" and by fabricating the *Donation of Constantine,* which exemplifies the traditional hierocratic theory. Charlemagne, as *patricius Romanorum* and as *Imperator Romanorum,* identified *Romanitas* with *Christianitas* and regarded his empire as Roman in a religious, not in a political, sense. In the ninth century the corporate nature of Christendom and the hierocratic doctrine found renewed expression (a) in the church councils as an episcopal program, (b) in the symbolism of the liturgical coronation ceremonies, (c) in the forged, yet traditionally prescriptive, *Capitula Angilramni, Pseudo-Isidore,* and *Benedictus Levita,* and (d) in the decrees of popes Nicholas I, Adrian II, and John VIII and the new coronation *Ordo B.* Although the Saxon emperors dominated the papacy, their imposing imperial structure was rooted in coronation by the pope, whose function as sole crowning agent was affirmed anew in the coronation *Ordo C* of the early eleventh century. Gregory VII became "the personification of the hierocratic idea" in his attempt to "translate abstract principles into concrete governmental action." Holding that the *ecclesia* is a corporate body, governed by the functionally qualified on the basis of *justitia,* Gregory "stands firmly on the old tenets and pursues them to their logical conclusions." Additional papal insignia, changes in the papal administrative system, and numerous canonical collections or handbooks of traditional sources corroborated these developments. By the mid-twelfth century the most mature exposition of the hierocratic thesis was provided by Honorius of Canterbury (or Autun), Bernard of Clairvaux, John of Salisbury, and Hugh of St. Victor. Thereafter "little new ideological substance was added."

The above summary may indicate the prevading theme and the broad compass of Dr. Ullmann's book. Its cross-lights on several well-known episodes and its shifts of perspective on others cannot be detailed here; yet they entail revisions of the usual accounts of the political theory and the exercise of political power in the Middle Ages. Ample citations from the sources are buttressed by impressive footnotes, which not only adduce the latest scholarly researches but also frequently supply significant data. For its fresh appraisal of the sources and its summarization of research bearing on the hierocratic ideology, Dr. Ullmann's book merits the closest attention from both the specialist and the general historian of the Middle Ages.

Hamilton College EDGAR B. GRAVES

MEDIEVAL POLITICAL IDEAS. By *Ewart Lewis.* Two volumes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1954. Pp. xii, 356; v, 357–661. $12.50.)

IN these two volumes Mrs. Lewis has done a real service to medievalists and to all those interested in the history of ideas. She has first of all put together an

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anthology of translations from the following sources: Gratian, Rufinus, Bracton, Jean d'Ibelin, Beaumanoir, Aquinas, Aegidius Romanus, Marsiglio of Padua, William of Occam, Fortescue, John of Paris, Richard Fitzralph, John Wyclif, *Somnium Viridarii,* Comines, Manegold of Lautenbach, Hugh of Fleury, John of Salisbury, James of Viterbo, Nicholas of Cusa, Guido Vernani, Turrecremata, Tholommeo of Lucca, Lupold of Bebenburg, Aeneas Sylvius, Jean Masselin, *Dictatus Papae,* Augustinus Triumphus, Gerson, Alexander of Roes, *Disputatio inter clericum et militem, Rex Pacificus,* Engelbert of Admont, Dante, Honorius Augustodunenis, and the *York Tractates.* Many of these are not ready to hand and many have never before been translated. Mrs. Lewis' selections are judicious, and the translations, all of which are her own, are excellent and readable. But these volumes are more than an anthology. She has arranged the selections topically in the following chapters: the idea of law; property and lordship; the origin and purpose of political authority; the individual and the community; the structure of government in the state; the structure of authority in the church; the problem of the empire; *regnum* and *sacerdotium.* Each chapter is preceded by an introductory essay, and these essays represent contributions of distinction that alone would be sufficient recommendation of the book. They take into account all recent scholarship, including that of the author, and provide a fresh view of the issues and a necessary corrective to older accounts.

Each person will understandably have his own ideas as to what sources ought to be included in a work of this kind, but I find myself lamenting the omission of only one writer, Bartolus of Sassoferrato; and even his ideas are discussed in the relevant essay. Beyond this, the only major point with which issue can be taken is the assertion in the preface that ". . . a great part of medieval thought developed from its inherited intellectual chromosomes with comparatively little influence from its environment . . ." (p. ix). These two volumes seem to demonstrate a surprisingly considerable "influence from its environment." There are a few minor suggestions to be made. "Subinfeudation with the lord's consent" (p. 90) is too strong a generalization about feudal practices. In chapter two, more attention might be paid to the views of thirteenth-century French legists on property and lordship, as they have been worked out by Professor Strayer. Chapter six would be improved by adding some consideration of the growth of "national" churches and by a more pointed account of the importance of *idoneitas* in the Hildebrandine program. Can Grande della Scala appears as Cam Grande on page 70; references to Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* unaccountably read *Summa contra Gentes* throughout. It is a great pity that the footnotes, which are so rewarding, are grouped at the end of each volume.

We owe a great debt to Mrs. Lewis. These volumes are essential to any library on the subject.

Emory University G. P. Cuttino

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HERRSCHAFTSZEICHEN UND STAATSSYMBOLIK: BEITRÄGE ZU IHRER GESCHICHTE VOM DRITTEN BIS ZUM SECHZEHNTEN JAHRHUNDERT. Band I. By *Percy Ernst Schramm, et al.* [Monumenta Germaniae historica, Schriften, XIII/1.] (Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag. 1954. Pp. xxiv, 375, 40 plates. DM 48.)

SINCE the appearance of his *Die zeitgenössischen Bildnisse Karls des Grossen* in 1928, and *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildnissen ihrer Zeit* in 1929, Professor Schramm has continued his contributions to studies of *Herrschaftszeichen* and *Staatssymbolik* in an impressive list of books and articles. His intimate knowledge of the sources and his critical scrutiny of previous findings of scholars qualify him to an exceptional degree for the task which he has set for himself and his collaborators in this book: the development of a veritable scientific method for the investigation of *Herrschaftszeichen* and *Staatssymbolik*. For while his profound knowledge of the subject may have led him to exaggerate the shortcomings of earlier scholarly efforts in this field, one can accept unqualifiedly his criticisms of the "Romantiker" who, when confronted by seemingly inexplicable terms or obscure pictorial representations, have too often pretended to find the explanation in the nebulous concept, "the spirit of the Middle Ages."

Without pretense of definitiveness, or of coherence and continuity of subject matter, this first volume assumes the form of a collection of *Beiträge* consisting of two *Längsschnitte* and sixteen *Einzelstudien*. The former serve best to illustrate the aims of the book because, in the view of its author, they demonstrate how the *Herrschaftszeichen* must first be studied definitively, piece by piece, in order that ultimately a definitive study of the ensemble may be undertaken. The *Einzelstudien,* on the other hand, deal somewhat tentatively with particular objects ranging from the prehistoric tokens of sovereignty in the tombs of Scandinavian chieftains to the iron standards of Sutton Hoo and the pectoral talisman of Charles the Great. They serve to illustrate also how sometimes the study of a particular *Denkmal* should be the work of the archaeologist, at others of the art historian, or the medievalist, and how, in many instances, definitive results must depend on the joint efforts of all of these.

The "scientific" approach suggested by the author consists of three basic procedures: (1) the collecting of the *Überreste* or else the trustworthy reproductions of ruined *Denkmale,* (2) the evaluation of the written evidence, and (3) the critical examination of representations of sovereignty in pictures, seals, bulls, and coins. At first glance these appear to be merely the time-honored procedures familiar to all medieval scholars. Their justification may be found, however, in the author's insistent warning against exclusive reliance on any one of them or, even more, in his abundant demonstration of their effectiveness when employed as complementary to one another.

The first of the *Längsschnitte* has to do with the origin and evolution of the stole (*stola*), an emblem of sovereignty hitherto but little studied, and thus afford-

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ing an opportunity to the author to apply his method without the necessity of analyzing previous conflicting theses. It is, in short, a veritable history of the *stola* from its origin in the *trabea triumphalis* and the *toga picta* of the Roman emperors, through its evolution into the Byzantine *lorum,* and its ultimate translation *via* Syria and Constantinople as the *stola* of the sovereigns of western Europe.

The second of the longer *Beiträge* deals, in somewhat similar manner, with the evolution of the spiritual and temporal mitre (*mitra*) and, incidentally, with the papal tiara. Starting with the ancient *camelaucum* and the *phrygium* or Phrygian cap, the evolution is traced to the *regnum* of the popes, the mitre of the bishops, and, at length, to the mitre of the western emperors and the sovereigns of Castile and Aragon. The author finds in this study an opportunity for the fullest application of his method, both because he is able to subject the numerous earlier researches to critical appraisal and, at the same time, to expose the pitfalls which are to be encountered in dealing with medieval terminologies and pictorial representations. For, as Klewitz, Sachsse, and others have previously shown and, as this book so fully illustrates, the terms *mitra, tiara, infula, pileus, cidaris, regnum, corona* etc., are often employed interchangeably by medieval writers without consideration of the historical evolution either of the name or the significance of the object. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Isidore of Seville is a chief contributor to this confusion in such statements as, *"mitra est pileum phrygium,"* or that he proceeds to a confusion worse confounded when he adds, *"sed pileum virorum est, mitra feminarum."*

While the author has unquestionably established the need for a more rigorous methodology in dealing with *Herrschaftszeichen* and *Staatssymbolik,* he has not fully sustained his observation respecting the deficiencies of earlier researchers in this field. Indeed, one cannot escape the conclusion that many of them, including Müntz, as early as 1898, and subsequently, Wüscher-Becchi, Sachsse, Eichmann, and others, have contributed greatly to the more scientific approach. This remark is not intended, however, to detract from the truly great merits of this work which, in general, deserves only the highest praise. For in its comprehensiveness, its abundant documentation, its meticulous attention to detail, it provides what unquestionably will be accepted as a model for future researches in this field.

Bowdoin College THOMAS C. VAN CLEVE

ENGLISH HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. Volume I, *c.* 500–1042. Edited by *Dorothy Whitelock,* Vice-Principal of St. Hilda's College, Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xxiv, 867. $12.80.)

THIS volume is designed to contain within its covers the major portion of the contemporary written sources on which the history of the period is based. The purpose is to make these sources readily available to those who do not have the time or the opportunity to locate them and the critical apparatus necessary for

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their interpretation in the many publications among which they are scattered. All the documents are translated in order to meet the need of the increasing number of those who are historically curious but linguistically inept. The translations, with very few noted exceptions, have been made by the editor.

The material is divided into three parts. The first consists of secular narrative sources. They include such contemporary accounts as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* Asser's *Life of Alfred,* extracts from continental annals, and Norse poems preserved in the works of later writers. There are also extracts from the works of later historians, such as Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury, which are known or thought to be based on contemporary sources now lost. The treatment of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is particularly noteworthy. By frequently ignoring "minor variations, obvious errors and accidental omissions in texts not used as the base of the translations" (p. 136) and by the manner in which the several versions are set forth on the page it is made easy to distinguish "the common stock of the Chronicle from passages peculiar to individual versions" (p. 109). An extremely complicated problem is thus rendered comparatively simple. The second section contains a large portion of the Anglo-Saxon laws and nearly a hundred charters and kindred documents. In her translations of the laws the author has noted any differences between them and the translations previously made by Liebermann, Attenborough, or Robertson which change significantly the meaning of the laws in question. Many of the charters have not been translated previously. The third portion is devoted to ecclesiastical sources. Among them are Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* saints' lives, numerous letters, and a few specimens of Anglo-Saxon literature.

An important part of the volume consists of the introductions and of the critical estimates with which each document is prefaced. The introduction to the whole period constitutes a remarkably concise summary of the political development, of the government and society, and of the church. It may serve as a guide to the sources, since much the larger part of the abundant references are to documents in the volume. It also provides a view of the history of the period as it appears in the light of the latest researches. Each of the three parts has an introduction in which the nature of the sources is discussed. Each introduction is followed by a select critical bibliography. The one drawback is the lack of a general index.

This is the work of a scholar who is thoroughly familiar with the sources. It should enable beginners to obtain not only firsthand knowledge of the history of the period but also some skill in the evaluation of evidence. Even those who have an acquaintance with some of the sources may find here additional information of value. This notice may well conclude with an excerpt from one of the documents which the editor has translated, since it expresses my view of the volume under consideration: "I therefore considered this translation a very sensible thing" (p. 848).

Haverford, Pennsylvania WILLIAM E. LUNT

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THE NORMANS IN SCOTLAND. By *R. L. Græme Ritchie.* [Edinburgh University Publications: History, Philosophy and Economics, Number 4.] (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1954. Pp. xliv, 466. 50*s.*)

ALTHOUGH of a different genre this volume supplements Haskins' *The Normans in European History* since it discusses the spread of Norman culture and institutions into a country which Haskins ignored. Experienced medievalists will appreciate the skill with which the author utilizes a limited, variable, scattered body of sources in which the contemporary information that he needs is "incidental, indirect, [and] curiously *external.*" With the aid of "probabilities and the exercise of common sense" he offers an imaginative interpretation of his limited data and constructs a convincing description of the process of Normanization which took place in Scotland during the hundred years following the battle of Hastings. There is so much inherent probability in his thesis that the considerable extent to which he offers surmise for evidence should not trouble the reader. The effort to think in twelfth-century terms is impressive because our author has mastered the documents and literature of that period. The basic assumptions upon which his interpretation of the scanty record rests are that the process of Normanization in Scotland was very similar to the process in England, that the England of Henry I served as a model for the Scottish kings, and that native Scottish conditions can, if necessary, be surmised from probably similar conditions in Wales and Ireland.

Believing that history "is the history of persons," and faced with the fact that "mediaeval writers confine their attention to kings and princes, warriors and saints," Professor Ritchie turns his attenton to the personnel of the ruling groups. These were the newcomers, moving into a frontier area, bringing with them their ideas and practices and establishing them as a matter of course. The author applies himself to studying the Christian names of those who held offices in church and state assuming that Norman names indicate Norman origins. In addition the identification of continental place names or nicknames in French gives interesting results. Many such names appear as witnesses to royal charters. American readers may be surprised to learn of the continental origins of many of the leading Scottish families, Bruces, Balliols, Stewarts, Grahams, Lindsays, and Oliphants. Perhaps there is a note of Scottish pride in the comment that the Normans who settled in Scotland founded families which lasted into modern times, while the great Norman families in England died out. There is further a nice touch in noting the moustaches of Guillaume de Percy *al grenon,* the first Norman baron to reach Scotland and "the name-father of all the Algernons."

The story of Normanization is an unexciting account of a slow, peaceful introduction of more efficient methods of administration, and of French *elegantia* among a new feudal aristocracy. The kings and their friends and supporters are the agents of this process. Their contacts with the English court, from Edward the Confessor to Henry I, provide the background, kept alive by family and

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feudal relationships. By the time of King David (1124–1153) Normanization is achieved and David is entitled by our author "the Conqueror" who needed no battle of Hastings.

Williams College RICHARD A. NEWHALL

THE BEGUINES AND BEGHARDS IN MEDIEVAL CULTURE: WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE BELGIAN SCENE. By *Ernest W. McDonnell,* Rutgers University. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1954. Pp. xvii, 643. $10.00.)

THE beguine-beghard movement was one of the most important manifestations of lay or popular spirituality in western Europe in the centuries following the Gregorian Reform. It was, however, a most complex phenomenon, and modern scholars have often been as perplexed as were many contemporaries in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in judging its scope and character. The purpose of this monograph is to furnish a broad and comprehensive treatment of the beguine-beghard movement against the background of the general cultural milieu, based not only on the voluminous, and in part controversial, literature in Flemish, Dutch, French, and German but, above all, on a thorough, independent examination of the sources. The book is especially welcome, for, with the exception of Dayton Phillips' monograph, *The Beguines in Medieval Strasburg* (Palo Alto, 1941), it is the first significant study on the beguines to appear in English.

The author has divided his book into six main parts. Part One, "A Case Study in the *Vita Apostolica,*" is primarily concerned with Mary of Oignies, John of Nivelles, and their circle, and with the role of Jacques de Vitry as a profound admirer and strong supporter of the beguine movement. Part Two, "The Extraregular in State and Society," covers the relations of the lay religious groups to the hierarchy, to the religious orders proper, and to the civil authorities, and their organization and supervision within the framework of church and state. The scope of Part III, "Spiritual Currents in Belgium and Rhineland," Part IV, Popular Devotional Literature," Part V, "Positive and Negative Evidence," and Part VI, "The Extraregular and the Inquisition," is sufficiently clear from the titles. The book is much broader in its scope than the title indicates, since it gives considerable attention to the beguine-beghard movement in France, and particularly in Germany, as well as in the Low Countries.

The author freely acknowledges his indebtedness to the authoritative studies of H. Grundmann, Alcantara Mens, L. J. Philippen, Joseph Greven, R. Hanon de Louvet, J. Van Mierlo, and others. But he has not hesitated to adopt at times a modified or different position. The value of his work for scholars is solidly established by the wealth of documentation from the primary sources—saints' lives, chronicles, letters, histories, papal bulls, conciliar legislation, constitutions and records of religious orders, and, not least in importance, property deeds, and town

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and guild records and ordinances. He has made this rich source material easily available for verification by copious citation in elaborate notes, often occupying more than half a page. In this monograph, *mirabile dictu!* the notes are really footnotes, being found where they always ought to be. Following the main text, there is a practically exhaustive bibliography of primary sources and secondary works (pp. 583–612), and the index is excellent (pp. 613–43).

It would be impossible within the compass of a short review to discuss the contents and conclusions of the book in detail. However, a few salient points should be mentioned. The beguine movement cannot be traced to any one specific founder—and, incidentally, the origin of the term "beguine" is still not definitely settled. However, it is clear that, whatever socio-economic factors were involved, the movement had a basic religious motivation and the religious factor remained dominant to the close of the Middle Ages. It is now established also that, down to the end of the thirteenth century at least, the beguines were recruited chiefly from the lower nobility and middle class. The beguines in the Belgian area not only were, for the most part, orthodox but were even defenders and promoters of orthodoxy, as is shown, for example, by their devotion to the Eucharist and its culmination in the official institution of the feast of Corpus Christi. Cistercian, Augustinian, Franciscan, and Dominican—especially the last two—spiritual directors played an important role in the guidance and development of beguine spirituality, but beguine spirituality itself in turn exercised a considerable influence on the spirituality of the diocesan clergy and religious orders proper. As compared with the beguines, the beghards were much less important in numbers or influence. However, it was precisely among the beghards, especially in Germany, that radical or heretical tendencies manifested themselves. These aberrations served to arouse suspicion against orthodox groups, with whom the radicals often were identified by civil and ecclesiastical authorities. In spite of the severe attacks made on the beguines in the second half of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, they were finally completely rehabilitated by both regional and papal authority. Special attention is called to the series of brightly written thumbnail sketches of Mary of Oignies, John of Nivelles, Jacques de Vitry, Hildegarde of Bingen, Juliana of Cornillon, Lambert le Bègue, and others. Throughout the work, the author has dealt with his theme objectively and critically, but, at the same time, with a laudable sympathy and understanding.

Of the few misprints noted, only one need be mentioned: On page 145, for "sixtieth," read "sixty-fold." It would have been helpful for most readers if English translations had been furnished for a few passages quoted in medieval Flemish. Finally, the author might well have added a conclusion or epilogue summarizing the chief results of his investigations.

Catholic University of America MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

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Modern European History

HISTOIRE DE LA SAINTE ALLIANCE. By *Maurice Bourquin,* Professeur à l'Université de Genève et à l'Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales, Professeur honoraire de l'Université de Bruxelles. (Geneva: Librairie de l'Université, Georg & Cie. 1954. Pp. 507.)

THE theme of co-operative action in the interest of peace is one of never-ending historical interest. In this book Professor Bourquin has traced with much skill, and in adequate detail, the attempt of the great powers to consolidate the tranquillity of Europe. No work of this kind has been attempted since Professor Phillips' *Confederation of Europe* in 1914 and, as the author properly observes, the period of the Holy Alliance deserves to be restudied in a new perspective and with the aid of the very substantial peripheral literature that has come into being since that time.

There are many ways, however, in which the efforts of the statesmen of the period of Vienna differ from the work of 1919 or of 1945. First of all, one is aware of the essentially *European* outlook of most of the statesmen of the time. The Holy Alliance was less a world league than an effort to construct a solid basis of understanding on a single continent. And even here it hardly took account of the complex problems raised by the presence of the Turk in south-eastern Europe. It is, in this as in other respects, a far less ambitious venture than those undertaken at Versailles and at San Francisco.

Secondly, this very fact, the Europeanness of the alliance, was one element of weakness. For the interests of Great Britain were more extensive in scope, and British association with the continental powers, cemented during the war, could hardly be expected to last if extra-European affairs were under consideration. The breakdown of the alliance, as Professor Bourquin shows, was in no small part due to this fact. The question of the Spanish colonies was bound to rupture the understanding of the great states.

But long before this the alliance showed signs of weakness. As a matter of fact, it was never much more than a guarantee against new French aggression and a piece of machinery for international consultation. The British, from the beginning, showed great reserve in pushing it further. Even Tsar Alexander's modest proposals for the use of the economic boycott as an instrument of common action met with anything but a warm reception in London. The notion of "collective security" in the modern sense can be found in embryo, but this is about all that could be said.

Nor did the alliance act through common means in dealing with the problems of Europe. Metternich saw to it that the revolution in Naples was put out by Austrian troops and no other. The French government of Louis XVIII was careful to preserve its freedom of action when it came to the intervention in

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Spain. Only Tsar Alexander seemed to think in terms of collaborative action to maintain the peace of Europe.

There are, however, deeper lessons than these in the story of the Holy Alliance. What is fundamental is that the story illustrates the operation of the centrifugal forces at the end of every war. International co-operation comes about as a result of an external danger; when the danger is removed, the co-operation is apt to cease. No more today than a century and forty years ago is the conception of all the nations uniting together against the aggression of any one of them consistent with the nature of international politics. The course of events since 1945 sharply illustrates this fundamental fact.

But, as Professor Bourquin points out, the conditions of 1945 are not those of 1815. The idea of "collective security," perhaps unrealizable in absolute terms, has been given a great extension in the diplomatic action of the United States in the last decade. It has made possible the forming of new groupings of great weight in international affairs and has given a new flavor to the diplomacy of our own time. If we have not reached the point of *all* against *any* aggressor, we have reached the point of *several* powerful combinations against *certain* particular aggressors.

There is one other point to be made. The Holy Alliance floundered in part because it became the agent of the status quo. The cause of international collaboration, as Professor Bourquin intimates, ought not to be associated, and cannot be associated, with the mere preservation of the existing order. And herein lies a lesson for our own times.

Professor Bourquin has written an important book. It is based, apparently, on published sources. But the story, this reviewer suspects, would not be substantially changed if the archives of the various powers had been more intensively exploited. And the author's eye for the essential, his sense of order and proportion, is worthy of all praise.

Cornell University DEXTER PERKINS

THE STRUGGLE FOR MASTERY IN EUROPE, 1848–1918. By *A. J. P. Taylor,* Fellow of Magdalen College [Oxford]. [Oxford History of Modern Europe, Volume II.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xxxvi, 638. $7.00.)

THIS is the first volume to be published of a sixteen-volume *Oxford History of Modern Europe* edited by Alan Bullock and F. W. D. Deakin, two Oxford historians, and following the general style of the *Oxford History of England.* The period to be covered is 1789 to 1945; the first three volumes deal with international relations, the next two with the history of ideas, and the remaining eleven with the nations of the Continent. There is certainly ample need for such a series.

Innumerable books have been written on the exploits of Cavour and Bismarck

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and on international relations from 1871 to 1914. Mr. Taylor is the first writer, so far as the reviewer remembers, to view as a whole the seventy years from the collapse of the Metternich system in 1848 to the collapse of Europe in 1918. The story he tells is that of the working of the balance of power, which was repudiated by Lenin on the one hand and by Wilson on the other. Mr. Taylor's book is almost exclusively a presentation of diplomatic history, for although in the introduction he provides some statistics showing the increase of population, the expansion of industry, and the growth of armaments during the period, he is content to narrate the exchanges between governments from a political point of view and in large measure to ignore the economic forces which so often lay behind diplomatic activity. Thus the economic issues at stake in the Baghdad Railway and in Morocco are relegated to footnotes (pp. 410, 465), and Anglo-German commercial rivalry is mentioned only casually.

Within the limits indicated, Mr. Taylor has written an admirable book. He has mastered the enormous quantity of new evidence published since 1919, including a number of Russian sources not available in translation and, what is more important, he thoroughly understands diplomatic jargon and translates it into simple English. Without offering formal character sketches of the principal personages, he manages to convey clear impressions of how Bismarck, Napoleon III, Salisbury, and all the other great operated, and he has a fine gift of making points by contrast. In 1859, "while Cavour and Napoleon had a cause for war, but no excuse, the British government had to make out that there were excuses, but no cause" (p. 109). In 1867, "the French supported the Greek claims [to Crete] because they did not imply the disruption of the Turkish empire; the Russians because they did" (p. 180). "The Germans often hesitated between Great Britain and Russia; they never hesitated seriously between Great Britain and France" (p. 382). "In Salisbury's time, Great Britain made arrangements with European Powers in order to defend her empire; now [1906] she made concessions outside of Europe in order to strengthen the Balance of Power" (p. 438). A word must also be said for the chronological ordering of the narrative, which reveals the ever-changing international situation and the never-ending shifts of the several governments to increase or diminish pressures. Mr. Taylor makes it very clear that, in spite of the rival alliances, the situation in Europe remained pretty fluid down to 1914, the best proof being the London conference of ambassadors in 1912–13, where all the powers made concessions rather than bring about the automatic operation of the alliances.

Throughout the book Mr. Taylor forms his own judgments and constantly challenges conventional opinions. Thus he believes that after Sadowa Napoleon III, if left to himself, would have refrained from demanding compensation from Bismarck (p. 173), but was not strong enough to impose this on his ministers. To the somewhat friendly view of Bismarck that obtained currency between 1919 and 1939, Mr. Taylor retorts that the Iron Chancellor was a bully and a cheat and that his principal achievement after 1870, the Austro-German alliance, "im-

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prisoned Germany," so that "Bismarck continued to dream that he might some time make Germany more secure by escaping from it" (p. 318). The British offers of alliance to Germany in 1898 and 1901 are discounted because Britain had little to offer Germany (pp. 377, 396). Likewise discounted are the various Russian schemes for opening the Straits; in spite of moves by Nelidov (1896), Izvolsky (1908), and Charykov (1911), the real Russian interest was to keep the Straits closed (after Salisbury in 1878 had declared that Britain would force them if need be) and to keep Turkey in possession of them as long as possible.

War came in 1914 because of the feeble and incompetent policy of William II and Bethmann Hollweg. But if there is "little evidence" (p. 520) that they plotted war, the Germans went along "willingly" when involved in war by Austria-Hungary, because "they were confident of winning it now and less confident of winning it later" (p. 522). Grey could not have averted the war by a clear statement of British policy. The German general staff had long planned to invade France through Belgium and "would not have been deterred by any British threat" (p. 525). France and Russia both decided on war before being sure of British help, and the French believed that they could defeat Germany.

In a final chapter Mr. Taylor discusses the war aims of the belligerents. At the outbreak of hostilities, neither side had any aim beyond defeating the other. It was only after stalemate developed on the Western front that both sides began in earnest to discuss what they were fighting for. The war aims of both sides came to postulate the complete defeat of their enemies, so all efforts at compromise broke down. Thus the balance of power came to an end, but only after the United States insured victory to the Entente Powers. "In January 1918 Europe ceased to be the centre of the world" (p. 568). The German challenge to the balance of power was beaten, but at the price of Bolshevism and American intervention in Europe. Stopping his story with January, 1918, Mr. Taylor does not mention the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk or the events leading up to the end of the war.

Alexandria, Virginia BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. By *Philip Hughes*. Volume III, "TRUE RELIGION NOW ESTABLISHED." (New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. xxix, 457. $7.50.)

LIKE its predecessors, this third and final volume of Father Hughes's study of the English Reformation is the best written and most scholarly Roman Catholic treatment of its subject now available. But since the third volume surveys the reign of Elizabeth I, the religious qualifier must be stressed. The settlement of 1559 decisively separated England from Rome, and about the subsequent events of the reign which enforced that settlement no priest of the Roman faith could be expected not to feel strongly. Indeed, it could be predicted that the more

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deeply English his sentiments, the more vivid his historical imagination and the more thorough his scholarship, the more strongly he would feel.

The strength of Father Hughes's feelings do not prevent him from making skillful use of the best recent monographs, from writing perceptively about Anglicans like Richard Hooker, or summarizing with neatness and accuracy affairs like the Cartwright-Whitgift controversy. But they incline him to take a bleak view of Elizabeth I, her counsellors and her reign, and to weight, perhaps unconsciously, his judgments and his adjectives on the side of condemnation. This may be why he is able to apply without correction a guess of Clapham's about the composition of the English agricultural classes of 1750 to the class structure of the Elizabethan age (p. 15) and to index succinctly: "Misery the chronic lot of the average Elizabethan." Certainly this influences his judgment that the settlement of 1559 was neither a compromise nor the product of any considerable English religious sentiment but a mere political trick, the maneuver of a "minority within a minority," to win freedom of movement for Elizabeth in foreign policy without relaxing her control of the church at home (pp. 146–48). (Here he is aware of J. E. Neale's recent interpretation, but dissents sharply.) It is quite natural that Father Hughes should revere the 183 Catholics who suffered during the twenty-six years of the Elizabethan persecution as saints and martyrs, while continuing to regard the 273 who suffered in eighteen months under Mary as deluded fanatics. It is understandable that his indignation at the atrocities visited on English Catholics (III, 359–63) should lead him to forget that he himself once described these barbarities as "part of the trappings of civilized society" (Hughes, *Reformation,* II, 284). But it is regrettable that in his eagerness to emphasize how free most English Catholics were of any thought of treason, he is inclined to slide over the painful problem of divided loyalties to which some, Parsons and Allen, for instance, or William Stanley and Rowland York found a different and more tragic solution, which it should be part of the function of the historian to help us understand.

Columbia University GARRETT MATTINGLY

DE ENGELSE NATIE TE ANTWERPEN IN DE 16e EEUW. Volume II. By *Oskar De Smedt.* (Antwerp: De Sikkel. 1954. Pp. vi, 743. 400 B. fr.)

WHEN Albrecht Dürer was in Antwerp in 1521 he visited the Hof van Liere, thus called for Burgomaster Arnold van Liere who had it built only a few years before. The German artist described it in his diary as "über die Mass gross und fast wol geordnet mit überschwenglich schönen grossen Kammern und der viel, ein köstlich gezierten Turm, ein übergrossen Garten, in Somma ein solch herrlich Haus dergleichen ich in allen teutschen Landen nie gesehen hab." It was this magnificent mansion that passed in 1558 into the hands of the Merchants Adventurers as a gift from the city. It served as headquarters of the entire Fellow-

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ship, not only of the English Nation at Antwerp. When the king of England or his privy council needed a loan from the company or wanted to address it on matters that concerned the entire Fellowship, they sent their letters to Antwerp, not to London; and the members, regardless of where they resided, paid their dues and taxes to the Hof van Liere. The governor and superior officers of the Fellowship had their living quarters there, and members who, on arrival in the city, could not immediately find suitable lodgings might be put up provisionally in the company's house. The by-laws forbade them, on pain of a heavy penalty, to rent a room in an inn or tavern. They were allowed, though, to obtain accommodation in the homes of reputable burghers or in boardinghouses that were licensed by the company and run by its appointees, who bore the title of *Vrijwaerd,* meaning free host.

The gift of the Hof van Liere was evidence of the amicable relations between the company and the city of Antwerp. Dr. De Smedt has given a detailed account of these in his first volume; in this second one he discusses in even greater detail the company's internal organization and its multifarious activities as it became involved in the city's economic life and in the political events both in England and on the Continent. The spread of Lutheranism became a cause of trouble for the English merchants. Antwerp was a stronghold of the new heresy, and many members were, not unjustly, suspected by the Spanish government in Brussels of favoring the sect. Great consternation was caused among the English by an ordinance of Charles V of 1550 that no one was to be granted residence in town or village who could not show a certificate of orthodoxy signed by the parish priest of his previous place of residence. The Antwerp magistrates, who were more concerned for the economic welfare of their city than for the preservation of the true faith, prevailed upon the emperor to exempt all merchants from his edict. With their connivance England was being flooded with heretical tracts and Bible translations that were shipped from Antwerp by Merchants Adventurers. Tyndale was living under their protection in the Hof van Liere, but as soon as he incautiously ventured outside the city walls he was arrested by officers of the central government in Brussels and burnt at the stake. The tolerant liberalism of the city rulers made Antwerp a cultural Mecca for foreigners who were less free in their own country. George Nedham, the author of a tract on English trade quoted by way of illustrating its irresistible attraction a proud Antwerp citizen's extravagant boast, "If Englyshmens ffathers were hanged in the gates of Antwarpe their children wolde crepe betwext their leggs to come into the saide town."

Dr. De Smedt's more than 700 pages contain a wealth of information that will interest not only the student of international commerce but also the sociologist, the church historian, and the genealogist. A detailed index enhances the value and usefulness of the book.

Columbia University ADRIAAN J. BARNOUW

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SAGGI SULL'EUROPA ILLUMINISTA. I. ALBERTO RADICATI DI PASSERANO. By *Franco Venturi.* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi. 1954. Pp. 278. L. 1500.)

ALBERTO Radicati, the strange count of Passerano whose brief life (1698–1737) became a legend in his own day and who, after obscure and tortuous peregrinations at home in Piedmont, in Italy, in France, in England, and in Holland, died a pauper and suspect at The Hague, has at long last found his biographer and his complex intellectual peregrinations a historian in Franco Venturi. This full-length study of Radicati reduces to mere useful preliminaries all previous work on the subject. Domenico Carutti's and Filippo Saraceno's references in their erudite studies of Vittorio Amedeo II's Piedmont, Alberto Alberti's good effort at a documented biography, and Piero Gobetti's pioneering brief portrait in his rare volume on the *Risorgimento senza eroi* appear now even more clearly as the sketchy and incomplete attempts to deal with the elusive count of Passerano they have alway been.

Alberto Radicati was a "problem child" to his septuagenarian father and to his haughty aristocratic *consortili,* to the first Piedmontese monarch and to the Holy Office of the Inquisition, to Catholics in France, Anglicans in England, and Calvinists in Holland. Voltaire knew of him and once adopted his name as a pseudonym in a pamphlet directed to Italians (p. 14). In the late eighteenth century Radicati was referred to as the "ill-famed Passerano" and the "descendant of an illustrious family who refused to utilize properly those talents God had given him while he misused them not only against himself but also against his Sovereign and God Himself," apparently because his mind was "filled with heretical doctrines which prevented him from living quietly in his own country." For long Alberto Radicati remained a "problem child" of historians of the Enlightenment either because they did not know him or because they did not know what to do with him when they did. Yet Radicati lived during an era which has been far from obscure. On both the Italian and the European levels that era has been studied fully and continuously in its political and economic aspects, for its literary and aesthetic theories, and for much of its cultural and philosophical activity. Radicati was after all a contemporary of the founders of the *Arcadia* and of the author of *The New Science,* of the writer of the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* and of the "editor" of the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores!* The answer may lie in the fact that Radicati lived through the fervid time of a "crisis of the European conscience," as Paul Hazard has styled it, but that this crisis took different forms in different European minds and that which subtly gripped the count of Passerano's was really unique and therefore elusive of pat classifications.

The problem Radicati's life and thought presents is indeed challenging, but Venturi has succeeded marvelously in meeting it. Radicati spent his early years in the obscurity of his ancestral lands in the Piedmontese province and in Turin, engaging in "continual war with the scorpions" within his own family and rendering himself a "traitor" to his noble lineage and tradition by his sympathies

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for the peasant communities' causes against his relatives and his "house." Then, particularly after his first wife's death, he was at first in intermittent and soon in almost ceaseless movement abroad, in France, in England, and finally in Holland, absorbing avidly from his new environments and experiences, learning much from them and unlearning almost as much, ever restless, famished, and lonely. Wherever he went he made few friends and many enemies, continually scandalizing the respectable and arousing their fears and suspicions with his unorthodox views and controversial writings in three languages, expounding progressively more "radical" doctrines on matters religious and political, on the causes for the decay from the "original purity" of the early church and on men's abandonment of nature's relatively happy station. He proffered counsel to the monarchs, to Vittorio Amedeo II and later to Don Carlos of Bourbon, on the arts of the "theocrats" and of politics and he hurled neo-Machiavellian shafts against the fearful Hobbesian Leviathan. He was on the point of death from starvation in London in 1732 and yet found energy to pen and publish "the most audacious of his writings" titled *A Philosophical Dissertation upon Death,* which so angered the bishop of London and the duke of Newcastle that they engineered his arrest. Four years later, still rejected and broken in body, he saw through publication in Holland that kind of intellectual testament called *Recueil de pièces curieuses sur les matières les plus intéressantes.*

At the heart of Radicati's life and work there stood an idea reared by him with cold passion into the dimensions of a myth at once religious and political, moral, and social, similar to that which later in the century his "spiritual brother" Jean-Jacques sought to erect with similar ingredients and almost similar finalities: it was the myth of a "perfect democracy" in which church and state, government and society would be so fused as to render men happy and "equal in nobility, in power, and in wealth" (p. 269). In the premises of his strange philosophical dreaming Radicati appears to speak with the voice of the Seicento and in its conclusions with that of the Enlightenment. He was perhaps at once both the last of the Italian Libertines and the first of the Italian Illuminists.

Franco Venturi's book on Alberto Radicati is a model of biographical and historical reconstruction to which not even the most elementary justice can be done in a brief review. For its substance and for its method this work will without doubt come to be regarded as one of the truly brilliant exemplars of contemporary Italian and European historiography, a precious contribution toward the breaking of new ground in intellectual history. Venturi's "essay" is no "synthesis" of old ideas: it possesses the freshness, vitality, and pertinence which only original research can make possible when it is utilized with intelligence by a genuine historical mind. Franco Venturi's is such a mind in an unalloyed form. A reading of this study on Radicati leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the distinction accorded him as the most accomplished member of the younger generation of historians.

New York University A. William Salomone

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THE FRENCH LABOR MOVEMENT. By *Val R. Lorwin,* Assistant Professor of Industrial Relations and Social Sciences, University of Chicago. [Wertheim Publications in Industrial Relations.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xix, 346. $6.00.)

THIS excellent monograph is half history, half analysis: a history of the labor movement in France from 1789 to 1953, and an analysis of the structure and functioning of the movement as it is today. The history is modestly offered and deliberately oriented toward a clarification of the current movement, but it is based upon a variety of reading ranging from Beau de Lomenie to Fernand Pelloutier and is invariably clear, reflective, and refreshing. Mr. Lorwin points out, for example, that the author of the Le Chapelier anti-association law himself announced in 1791 that "none of us intends to prevent the merchants from discussing their common interests." He refers to the hardening of class lines during the Second Empire as fewer workers graduated into the employer class and as the classes tended to live more apart from each other than before. He suggests that it may have been the repressive measures taken by the Napoleonic government "which turned the moderate and promising French labor movement of the late 1860's into revolutionary channels"; and he repeats Marx's provocative suggestion that one of the consequences of Prussian victory in the Franco-Prussian War was the replacement of French leadership over the international labor and socialist movement by that of the German workers and of Marx's theory. He singles out as "one of the great days in the history of French labor" February 12, 1934, when the first general strike took place, but in anti-fascist defense of the republic.

As Mr. Lorwin nears the present his picture becomes more detailed; and the last third of his historical survey treats the history of French labor during the nine years since 1944. At the moment of liberation, when most of the nation's erstwhile elite stood discredited because of ineffectiveness or worse, the hopes of labor were high. The years which followed saw their disappointment, and the latter half of this book is very largely an effort to explain why. The author discusses the low standard of living of the French worker, real wages being no higher in 1951 than in 1938, and increased social benefits thus coming not out of profits but from a redistribution of income within the working class itself. He calls attention to the continuing material weakness of the unions as union dues remain low and unenforced. He quotes an authority who called the tax system "with understandable hyperbole 'more iniquitous than that which provoked the French Revolution.'" Discussing the stubborn resistance of management to workers' demands, he cites a company official who compared the attitude of employers once they were back in the saddle to that of the royalist émigrés who returned in 1815. He writes with restraint; there are no villains; but one would conclude from his account that the most important single factor behind the recent decline in French unionism was the split in the Confédération générale

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du travail (CGT) which resulted from the Communist party's political manipulation of it from the time they gained control, in 1945. The immediate beneficiary of this split (one might add) is the powerful employer confederation (CNPF), today "far superior to the unions in organization, discipline, resources, and self-confidence."

Mr. Lorwin is concerned not only with the question of French labor but also with the larger problem of the viability of France as a whole. Can France develop a more enterprising, "less defeatist," capitalism, he asks. Will the workers "see through the CGT's cloak of militant unionism to the realities of political subservience"? Will the French government "find the courage to make difficult choices and to enforce decisions"? (He then quotes, prophetically, "a politician of unusual courage"—Mendès-France.)

The scholarship of this book is based very largely on union (and other) reports and articles, meticulously footnoted, and on firsthand observation. There is a full index; a number of appendixes and tables (including a chronology and a guide to abbreviations); a wide-ranging, annotated bibliography; a convenient chapter of conclusions; a thoughtful preface; and a very helpful foreword by Donald McKay (which would have served excellently as this review). Mr. Lorwin's book should serve not only scholars well but also all those in our government with duties pertaining to France.

University of Washington SCOTT H. LYTLE

LA FRANCE AU XX^{e} SIÈCLE. By *Robert Lacour-Gayet,* St. John's University, New York University. [Dryden Press Modern Language Publications.] (New York : Dryden Press. 1955. Pp. x, 329. $3.25.)

THE FRENCH THEORY OF THE NATION IN ARMS, 1866–1939. By *Richard D. Challener.* [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, Number 579.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. 305. $4.50.)

AT first sight it must seem that the attempt to compress everything important in the political, social, economic, scientific, and cultural life of twentieth-century France into 300 or so pages is just silly. There are, to be frank, places where the book threatens to become a catalogue of names and titles, or a minor bewilderment of figures. Such occasions, however, are few and, to be fair, inevitable. The surprising thing is that in fact M. Lacour-Gayet's handbook is both readable and eminently sensible and rewarding. It is as fair-minded a short discussion of the Republics over the half-century as you will find, reflecting a broad learning and a talent for selection from a terrifying mass of materials. The best sections are probably those treating of government and policy, social structure and customs, literature and things economic. One may wonder whether it was really worth while to include anything about the cinema, literary salons, publishing houses, medicine, etc., when treatment had to be so inadequate, so unrevealing for the beginner

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to whom the book is evidently addressed. On the whole there are few prejudices evident, patriotic or political. A foreigner might nevertheless question a few things here: for instance, the implications of the statement of the 1911 Moroccan crisis, the acceptance, as representative of the outlook of French youth before 1914, of Massis' and De Tarde's *Enquête,* the encomium in which the colonial policy of the Third Republic is wrapped up, the characterization of seventy million Germans before 1939 as "passionés de violence," the defense of the taxpayer against charges of evasion, and so on. These are small points no doubt in so generous a book, points for debate. For the most part, the American reader is likely to be impressed by the general excellence of this brief introduction to contemporary France.

Mr. Challener's volume is something else, a detailed and successful investigation of a continuing idea and the ways in which it found expression over the course of seventy and more years. Naturally the two focuses of interest are 1914 and 1940. A kind of tragic note runs through all the parliamentary and military discussions about the organization of the nation for war. Here are paraded all the pre-1914 errors of judgment, the neglect of economic planning, the unreasoned faith in the lightning offensive *à l'outrance,* the revolutionary belief in the necessity of putting every available man up at the front. Here too are the pre-1939 squabbles about military doctrine and national mobilization, the neglect of mechanized instruments, the misplaced trust in vast concrete emplacements, in reserves and, always, in the virtues of time, time to arm and to prepare the final offensive—all set against the background of the losses of 1914–1918, the conflict of domestic politics and the decline of that elusive national *élan.* It is a fine book. One can only suggest the richness of the documentation and the thoroughness (sometimes, it is true, too thorough, too protracted and repetitious) of the exposition. It is a first-rate study of an idea and the consequences of its various realizations, a useful addition to the literature on the Third Republic and the history of war in the Western world.

University of Toronto JOHN C. CAIRNS

HISTOIRE DE VICHY, 1940–1944. By *Robert Aron.* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard. 1954. Pp. 766. 1,250 fr.)

THIS irenic work is a sustained and "objective" effort to bring together the two perennially warring Frances—the France which accepted the Revolution of 1789 and that France which did not. In tones of "patriotic" sorrow rather than anger, Robert Aron describes the lacerations which the nation suffered from the time of its defeat in June of 1940 until its liberation four years later. Aron attempts to raise above the level of controversy a succession of catastrophes: the disastrous armistice; the British attack upon the French squadron at Mers-el-Kebir; the abolition of the Republic, "sanctioned by the National Assembly," on July 10, 1940; the interviews between Hitler, Laval, and Pétain at Montoire;

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the fighting in Syria between the Gaullist forces and those of Vichy; the Allied landings in North Africa in November, 1942, resulting in the total occupation of metropolitan France by the Germans and in the scuttling of the French fleet at Toulon; the deportation of forced labor to Germany; racial persecutions; the efforts of Pétain to prevent the reduction of France to a Nazi satellite; liberation and the problems posed thereby for Pétain and Laval.

As a resolute peacemaker Aron has a kind word for almost everyone except, of course, the Nazis and such overt collaborationists as Pierre Laval, Marcel Déat, Joseph Darnand, and Jacques Doriot. Apart from these "traitors" nearly all Frenchmen appeared to Aron as persons who meant well, yielding only to what seemed to be the invincibility of Hitler's new order.

Under this broad interpretation it is all but inevitable that Marshal Pétain should emerge as a figure of towering moral stature, aloof yet kindly, austere without being cold, preserving for France in defeat a symbol of untarnished grandeur evocative of the *ancien régime*. As part of the stereotype Pierre Laval is depicted as a shrewd, untidy vulgarian. He aroused physical repulsion in the elegant marshal who appeared a trifle embarrassed over his obligation to Laval for bullying parliament into voting itself out of existence on July 10, 1940, leaving the marshal virtually the uncrowned king of unoccupied France where at last the civic virtues of *travail, famille, patrie* could be inculcated.

This stained-glass portraiture of Marshal Pétain should not be construed as implying that Aron has any less veneration for General de Gaulle or the cause of the Free French. The whole spirit of this casuistic book is epitomized in an unforgettable phrase which the author quotes with approval: "The Marshal was the shield, the General the sword" (p. 94). This, indeed, is having it both ways with history. Under this genial dispensation of historical "newspeak" and "doublethink" hardly anyone could lose—except, possibly, that handful of Frenchmen like Laval, Déat, Darnand, and Doriot who collaborated with more obvious gusto than judicious "realism" warranted.

Typical of Aron's trimming is his treatment of Vichy's Jewish policy. He readily accepts the distinction made by Xavier Vallat, Vichy's *commissaire aux questions juives,* between old Jewish families of France and those whose forebears arrived after the founding of the Third Republic. Vichy's anti-Semitism, Aron is careful to point out, differed from the Nazi policy which was based upon racism, for Pétain's Jewish statute was founded upon the traditional French criteria of religion and nationality (p. 228). One hopes that those French Jews who were eventually rounded up by Darnand's militia for consignment to the Nazi cremation ovens were sufficiently steeped in Cartesian logic to draw comfort from these nice distinctions.

This singular book is at least a useful compendium of the main political facts of the Vichy period. But its tortured rationalizations will hardly achieve the author's purpose of reconciling the two Frances.

University of California, Los Angeles JERE CLEMENS KING

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THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONFLICT IN PRUSSIA, 1858–1864. By *Eugene N. Anderson.* [University of Nebraska Studies: New Series, Number 12.] (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1954. Pp. x, 445. $5.00.)

THE entire range of issues that separated the liberals and conservatives in the period indicated, not just the famous army reform struggle, is the subject of Professor Anderson's study. An analysis of the rival positions on the issues of caste and privilege, the police state, the Prussian constitution, and German unity constitutes the first half of the book and makes a solid contribution in pointing out the grave weakness of the liberals in disdaining local politics and grass-roots organization. Otherwise this part of the book does not impress. The study rests almost entirely on newspaper and parliamentary sources. These are useful enough in themselves, but when they are taken too much at face value and when monographic sources are few and include no works published after 1930, the reader's confidence is shaken. A large literature on economic matters is overlooked. The role of von Roon is distorted for lack of reference to his plans for a *coup d'état* and his last-minute advice to the king to give way on the question of the service term—important data available in Dehio's articles of the 1920's and several Roon studies of the 1930's. Similarly the treatment of Bismarck rests mostly on Hans Rothfels' selection of Bismarck documents, a valuable source but hardly a substitute for Bismarck's *Die gesammelten Werke*. This narrow base and an inclination to take Bismarck at his word lead to questionable statements, including the assertion that Bismarck and the liberals "agreed in their fundamental conception of German unity" (p. 147), a statement not even consistent with the author's own views about the peaceful methods of the liberals and their plan to work through state politics.

Part II of the book, on the organization and strength of the rival parties, shows marked improvement. Again stressing the failure of the liberals to build on the local level, the author also shows how they fatally injured their cause by clinging to the three-class voting system instead of seeking mass support by sponsoring universal and equal suffrage. Professor Anderson makes further solid contributions in demonstrating how the "new era" forced the conservatives, much against their traditions, to organize a party and "enter politics" and in describing the government's efforts to enlist all the agencies of the state in the election campaigns against the liberals. Especially penetrating is the point that government pressure on the bureaucracy transformed an independent officialdom into a nonpolitical group later obedient to the kaiser, Weimar, and Hitler—a development fully as important as the defeat of the liberals for the future of German history. Using detailed statistics of the elections of 1862 and 1863, the author concludes, in keeping with his other arguments, that Prussia was overwhelmingly liberal at the time. This conclusion requires, however, considerable guesswork about the disfranchised masses, inadequate treatment of the labor movement, and a discounting of the liberal losses between 1862 and 1863. The loss was slight, to be

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sure, but it inaugurated a trend that gained momentum in the following years, about which little is said.

At times a seeming carelessness mars the book, for instance, the confusion of our mile with the much longer German mile of the time (p. 75). In view of the solid aspects of the book and the enormous work devoted to it over twenty-five years, it is regrettable that the literature was not brought up to date, undigested data and certain defects of style eliminated, and standard helps such as a bibliography added.

University of Kentucky ENNO E. KRAEHE

HINDENBURG: EIN LEBENSBILD. By *Walter Görlitz.* (Bonn: Athenäum Verlag. 1953. Pp. 438. DM 16.80.)

FOR almost ten years now, German historians have again been free to write as they please. Quite a few of them have used this freedom to attempt a critical reappraisal of their country's past. But not all have been that venturesome. Especially in the field of biographical studies, some have preferred to cover familiar ground in a familiar way, writing on Bismarck, William II, the crown prince, or Stresemann, rather than Bethmann Hollweg, Erzberger, Rathenau, or Ludendorff. Walter Görlitz, scholar turned publicist, is a case in point. To a long list of biographies, from Wallenstein to Hitler, and a substantial history of the general staff, he added, in 1953, a heavy volume on Hindenburg. And as might be expected after his earlier works, his treatment is wholly sympathetic. Hindenburg emerges as an embodiment of all true Prussian virtues with hardly a single fault.

In the course of the last generation, the picture of Hindenburg has undergone several changes. Hans Delbrück, after the First World War, referred to him as an "ehrwürdige Null," a venerable zero. But German biographers soon converted the zero back to hero. It was only after the fateful role which *der alte Herr* played in Hitler's rise to power, that he again came to be viewed more critically. In 1935, Rudolf Olden, in a study which even Görlitz calls "brilliant," pointed out that Hindenburg's imposing façade concealed serious personal shortcomings, that he was a capable mediocrity with an unerring instinct for evading responsibility at critical points (the kaiser's flight, the armistice negotiations, the acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles) and even with traces of dishonesty (the Neudeck affair, the Osthilfe scandals). The best book on the subject (though Görlitz apparently does not know of its existence) was written a year later. In his *Wooden Titan,* Wheeler-Bennett agreed with most of Olden's criticism. But he also acknowledged that Hindenburg's name and legend had often been used by forces the old marshal did not quite comprehend and that through his whole life there ran the single thread of loyal service to Germany.

Görlitz' book continues pretty much where the eulogies of the 1920's left off, except that he credits Hindenburg with more initiative and influence than most

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other works. He cannot, of course, ignore the criticisms mentioned above, but he makes valiant efforts to explain them away. Most of his explanations fall into the category of *tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner*. To give just one of many examples, here is the famous incident on June 23, 1919, when Ebert called the OHL to see if they favored acceptance of the Versailles peace terms: "When the Field Marshal recognized that Groener, so as not to burden the Chief of the General Staff (who in fact had already been relieved) with this bitter admission, wanted to assume the responsibility for telling the Reichspresident our military weakness, he [i.e. Hindenburg] quietly left the room." Groener's recent biography by his daughter does not confirm this readiness on Groener's part to relieve Hindenburg of responsibility but rather gives substance to Wheeler-Bennett's charge that "Groener had become the victim of Hindenburg's lack of courage."

This book, then, is of little value to the historian, except for the fact that Görlitz was given access to Hindenburg's private papers. These appear to contain a good deal of new information, especially for the period of the presidency. How critically and reliably the author has used them, however, is impossible to say. Some idea may be derived from the uncritical way in which he has accepted the published memoirs of men like Papen or Meissner, not to mention Hindenburg's own apologia. The Hindenburg family would perform a real service to historical scholarship and (if we are to believe Görlitz' book) to their illustrious forebear, if these papers were made freely available to qualified historians.

Johns Hopkins University HANS W. GATZKE

THE WILHELMSTRASSE: A STUDY OF GERMAN DIPLOMATS UNDER THE NAZI REGIME. By *Paul Seabury*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 217. $3.00.)

THE decay of professional diplomacy under Hitler has been a frequent theme of German diplomatists themselves. The survivors have emphasized unanimously that they disapproved of Hitler's foreign policy and did their best to limit, if not to thwart, it. Mr. Seabury has examined their story with critical detachment. He explains first how the diplomatic service was traditionally recruited and how it kept aloof from politics under the Weimar Republic. It hoped to do the same under Hitler and did so, though with diminishing success, as long as Neurath was foreign minister. Ribbentrop came in to impose a Nazi foreign policy, but before the end he too was trying to defend the independence of his office from even more barbarous intruders. The demise of the German foreign ministry preceded that of the German Reich. At the end there was nothing except a few devoted officials guarding records of no importance,

This is a good account of the subject, well-written and with an easy mastery of the sources. It is best where the sources are abundant—particularly for the early years of Ribbentrop. It becomes rather thinner toward the end, where perhaps there will never be much to say, but is thin too for the Neurath period on

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which the publication of the records may still cast some light. No one is likely to quarrel with the verdict that the professional diplomatists were helpless against Hitler and that they cannot escape condemnation by pleading their good intentions. The general conclusion is more questionable. Mr. Seabury argues that professional diplomacy is doomed to decay not only in Nazi Germany but everywhere in the modern world; and he speaks generally of "totalitarianism." Surely political interference in diplomacy is not a new development. The self-contained world of the professional diplomatists in the later nineteenth century was a passing phase, largely due to the fact that few people thought of foreign policy at all. Napoleon I treated Talleyrand quite as badly as Hitler treated Neurath; and Napoleon III would have done much the same if he had had the energy. Even Lloyd George had a private foreign office, very like Ribbentrop's in the first years of Hitler, in his back garden. Any self-confident ruler is likely to disregard his professional advisers; and the men "in striped pants" will have freedom of decision only when there is nothing important to decide.

Magdalen College, Oxford A. J. P. Taylor

CARL GOERDELER UND DIE DEUTSCHE WIDERSTANDSBEWEGUNG. By *Gerhard Ritter*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1954. Pp. 630. DM 19.80.)

Those who have waited eagerly for this biography of the man who in current parlance would be called the "Mr. Opposition" of the Third Reich will not be disappointed. It is a product worthy of the distinguished biographer of Stein and of the leading academic figure of the German resistance to Hitler.

If Carl Goerdeler did not already enjoy the reputation of embodiment of the German conscience in revolt against the Nazi regime, Professor Ritter's work would assure it to him beyond question. The man who in 1936 told the reviewer that the first problem of his country was "the restoration of ordinary human decency" was overwhelmingly motivated in his opposition by moral considerations. In the history of the Third Reich, however, he represented not only "the other Germany" but also "the old Germany" in the sense of all that was best in the German and Prussian traditions. He voiced the outrage of the professional public servant at Hitler's amateurish and dilettante management of the German state, economy, and military apparatus. Ritter also makes abundantly clear how Goerdeler shared the limitations of the traditional German official in failing to meet the challenge of living forces, though he is far from endorsing the occasional portrayal of the man as an only partially reconstructed reactionary. Goerdeler's capacity for growth is shown along such lines as tracing his development from a somewhat narrow nationalist to an ardent planner for a European federative order. On the other hand, Goerdeler's exaggerated faith in the compelling power of reason, of political idealism, and moral principles prevented him from mastering the political realities of his time. The biographer demonstrates

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how this unquenchable optimism plagued his public career and accounts largely for his failure as a revolutionary.

Goerdeler, in fact, offers the perfect example of the weakness of the German opposition in planning and executing a *coup d'état.* The man who would not recognize that in the jungle of the Third Reich one could make one's way only by revolutionary means, who rejected to the end a share in plans for assassination, and who persisted in the illusion that in a heart-to-heart talk he might persuade Hitler to what amounted to abdication lacked "the art of the possible" to the point of naïveté.

Ritter also does not shrink from dealing courageously with other painful questions raised concerning Goerdeler and the opposition. The volume does not attempt an exhaustive historical treatment of the latter but it greatly broadens the scope of investigation and does much to clarify moot points. Though Goerdeler was not directly involved, much light is shed on the role of the conspiracy during the Sudeten crisis of 1938. It may surprise some that Ritter does not join the many civilian oppositionists who lay the main blame for failure on their Wehrmacht associates. Halder, Kluge, and other soldiers who fare badly in such accounts as that of Gisevius emerge in a much more sympathetic light. Nor does Ritter join in the chorus of wholesale condemnation of Allied leaders for failing to give encouragement and co-operation. On the other hand, the evidence he presents should refute for good and all the contention of Wheeler-Bennett and others that the Casablanca declaration was at most a negligible hindrance to opposition plans and activities.

This volume is in many ways monumental. It is heavily documented and has an extensive appendix of Goerdeler's memorandums and other important opposition materials.

University of Minnesota HAROLD C. DEUTSCH

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF SWEDEN. By *Eli F. Heckscher.* Translated by *Göran Ohlin,* with a Supplement by *Gunnar Heckscher* and a Preface by *Alexander Gerschenkron.* [Harvard Economic Studies, Volume XCV.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xlii, 308. $5.00.)

THE death of Eli F. Heckscher in 1952 marked the passing of a world-renowned economic historian and of an era in Swedish economic studies. Heckscher's *Sveriges ekonomiska historia från Gustaf Vasa* remains incomplete, but *The Continental System* and *Mercantilism* testify to the breadth of his concepts and vision. For this volume, a translation of his *Svensk arbete och liv* of 1941, Göran Ohlin, Heckscher's son, and Harvard University are to be congratulated; Alexander Gerschenkron's appreciative and competent analysis of Heckscher's life and writings also deserves an accolade.

Beginning with the Middle Ages, after a brief survey of the sweep of Swedish economic history, Heckscher moves easily through the economic maturation of

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the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The rise of mercantilism, the influences of foreigners, the role of metals in Swedish production, and the changes in agricultural economy dominate these pages. In the chapters on foundations of modern economy, and "the great transformation" of industrialization, he stresses Swedish expansion into hitherto neglected fields, such as water power, forest products, iron ore, and steel. Heckscher touches on the development of capital, a subject which needs more exploration both in the Swedish and other European economies, but his conclusion that domestic capital was entirely responsible for the astonishing growth of Swedish industry is subject to some doubts. Heckscher concluded his volume with World War I, but in the English edition Gunnar Heckscher, his son, continues with a survey of the effect of two world wars and socialist dominance upon that northern land.

Quarreling with Heckscher is to tilt with a departed giant, but differences of opinion must be stated, however presumptuous they might appear. Heckscher's exaggerated emphasis on quantitative data, his neglect of agrarian techniques and organization, and his disregard of merchant families and their roles in urban development betray serious prejudices. His dependence on England for parallels and his neglect of the Continent unfairly emphasize Sweden's hundred-year lag behind English industrial development; he ignores political history from animosity; as a "liberal" he suppresses the important role of state capital in railroad building; and he cavalierly treats of Sweden's labor organization on the same grounds.

But Heckscher's provocative and stimulating views will spur historians to further endeavors in these fertile fields, and his long career and many writings have enriched economic historical thought enormously.

Occidental College RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

SVALBARD IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS 1871–1925: THE SOLUTION OF A UNIQUE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM. By *Trygve Mathisen*. [Norsk Polarinstitut, Skrifter no. 101.] (Oslo: Brøggers Forlag. 1954. Pp. 211. Kr. 18.00.)

SVALBARD IN THE CHANGING ARCTIC. By *Trygve Mathisen*. (Oslo: Gyldendal. 1954. Pp. 112.)

AMONG matters dealt with by the diplomats at Paris in 1919–1920 was the archipelago of Spitsbergen (Svalbard). The settlement agreed upon, many hoped, disposed of a problem which for five decades had been an intermittent concern to diplomats. But such hopes were oversanguine. The new issues stem in part from the demilitarized status agreed upon in 1920 when the islands were transferred to Norwegian sovereignty. World War II pointed up the disadvantages. There were intermittent expeditions to support the Norwegian settlements or to intercept

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German forays. The most formidable of the latter, in September, 1943, appeared in force (the *Tirpitz,* the *Scharnhorst,* and nine destroyers!) and in a matter of hours disrupted most of the installations and settlements. Both sides were well aware of the area's importance for weather observation and for controlling or disrupting the sea lanes around North Cape.

The power vacuum of the area has become increasingly important in recent years. The population and industrial centers of Europe and America, in terms of distance, are most accessible to one another across the Scandinavian-Svalbard approaches. Svalbard is considerably nearer the Russian industrial centers than to those of Canada and the United States.

For most purposes, Svalbard, in accordance with the 1920 treaty, is a part of metropolitan Norway, though it has a special status in certain respects. Important is the provision for demilitarization. In defense planning, shall Svalbard be considered part of Norway? The issue played a part in the negotiations in 1949 for a Scandinavian defense union. The Russians on two occasions (1944, 1946) sought by direct negotiations to end the demilitarized status. The emergence of NATO posed the problem in new forms. To what extent, as Russia claimed, did Norway's adherence to NATO violate the treaty of 1920? Or again, to what extent is NATO involved in the defense of Svalbard?

Dr. Mathisen's volume, with a supplementary study covering the period since 1925, provides us with a balanced historical survey of the international rivalries in the area—economic, military, diplomatic. It is clear that, over the long run, strategic interests have dominated over the economic, the latter in recent days pertaining chiefly to coal mining. United States interest in the area, increasingly manifest since the seventies, while not a major aspect of the story, has at times been fairly decisive and is here portrayed sympathetically. On at least one occasion the State Department debated whether Spitsbergen was an Arctic rather than a European land, to which presumably, American control might be extended without overstepping the Monroe Doctrine.

The author has probed deeply into Norwegian archival material and read widely in accessible diplomatic sources—Swedish, Russian, English, French, and American. He has also analyzed contemporary press opinion on various issues. His account is likely to stand, in general outline. If modifications be necessary later on specific points these will probably reflect new data mainly from Swedish sources. The craftsmanship is conscientious and the tone of the narrative uniformly objective (if either volume is to be reissued, the proofreading should be more diligent).

Mathisen's supplementary study is necessarily tentative. Much material, especially Russian, is not yet accessible, And when eventually it is, Russian interests and operations after World War II will likely need more forceful portrayal than now can be given to them. By that time also, the half wistful hope that Svalbard's demilitarized status can be maintained will likely have been sustained, or shattered. In the meantime a historian's task that needed doing has been faithfully

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done. Mathisen's studies deserve a place on the shelf of every student concerned with international policy at the mid-century in the North Atlantic sector.

New York University OSCAR J. FALNES

Far Eastern History

A HISTORY OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY. Volume I, THE PERIOD OF THE PHILOSOPHERS (FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO CIRCA 100 B.C.). Volume II, THE PERIOD OF CLASSICAL LEARNING (FROM THE SECOND CENTURY B.C. TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY A.D.) By *Fung Yu-lan.* Translated by *Derk Bodde,* with Introduction, Notes, Bibliography and Index. (2d ed.; Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1952, 1953. Pp. xxxiv, 455; xxv, 783. $6,00, $7.50.)

PROFESSOR Bodde's English translation of Volume I of *A History of Chinese Philosophy,* first published by Henri Vetch of Peiping in 1937, is now reissued together with the first printing of his translation of the second volume. The translator and his publishers deserve our warm thanks for making accessible in English a complete translation in 1,238 pages of Professor Fung's history, which runs to 1,041 pages in the Chinese original.

Professor Bodde has done a most faithful and excellent job in the translation, and his notes are useful and in many cases necessary aids to the reader. There are numerous small errors which inevitably creep into so voluminous a translation; and there may be points of some importance on which one may justifiably debate with the translator—such as the rendering of *tsai* as "visitations" and *yi* as "prodigies" (II, 55 ff.), for which I would prefer "calamities" and "anomalies." But these should not be cited against the great merit of this most painstaking translation.

Professor Fung's work should be welcomed as the *first,* and *only,* full-size history of Chinese philosophy written by a Chinese scholar of recognized standing. Other pioneers in this field, including the late Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and myself, have not been able to complete their projected whole histories of Chinese thought or philosophy, which require the aid and co-operation of many scholars specializing in many fields such as the history of religious Taoism, of Chinese Buddhism and Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism, and of the state of Chinese science and technology throughout the ages—fields which modern critical scholarship has only recently begun to explore.

Because this is a pioneer work, its many major faults may be forgiven. One of these is that it gives barely nine pages (II, 424–33) to religious Taoism, which arose from humble origins about the second century A.D. and fought its way to become in time one of the three great religions in the empire and which not only was responsible for the four great persecutions of Buddhism (A.D. 446, 574, 845–46,

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and 955) but also has had much influence in the Neo-Confucianist movement since the eleventh century. Another defect is that the section specially rewritten for the English translation (II, 387–406) presents only a sketchy and rather uncritical treatment of the four centuries (700–1100) of growth and development of Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism. This may be explained by the fact that these special periods of Chinese religious and intellectual history have not been sufficiently explored by modern critical scholarship.

Professor Fung's history should also be read as a history of Chinese philosophy written from the "orthodox" Chinese standpoint. In one of his three untranslated prefaces to this work, he says: "When Vol. I of this history first appeared, Professor Hu Shih made the observation that its main standpoint was that of the Chinese 'orthodoxy.' Now that its second volume is published, its main standpoint is more pronouncedly that of the Orthodoxy. I do not need other people to point that out to me: I feel it myself. . . ." What is the standpoint of Chinese "orthodoxy" which our author so frankly and proudly admits to be the main standpoint of his history? Broadly stated, the traditional "orthodox" standpoint was (1) that Truth (*tao*) began to unfold with Confucius, the great inheritor and teacher of the sacred tradition of the sage-rulers of antiquity; (2) that this Truth was obscured and actually swept aside by the deluge of heterodox and depraved doctrines such as those of Mo Ti and Yang Chu of ancient times and Buddhism and Taoism of medieval China; and (3) that this Truth which for long centuries had remained dormant in the sacred scriptures, was revived by its latter-day saints, the leaders of the Neo-Confucianist movements from the eleventh century on.

From this "orthodox" standpoint, the first period of Chinese philosophy must begin with Confucius, who, says Dr. Fung, "strove his entire life to perpetuate the achievements of King Wen and the Duke of Chou, two of the Chou dynasty founders," by whom were founded "the Chou literature and institutions" which could "indeed serve to transmit the spirit of the Sages of the past, and open the way to scholars to come" (I, 7). And from the same standpoint, the second period of Chinese philosophy, from the first century B.C. to the twentieth century A.D., must be regarded as "the period of classical learning," that is, of the classical learning of Confucianism. And this in spite of the powerful influence of Taoistic naturalism, of one millennium of Buddhist conquest of China, and of the rise and growth of Taoism as a religion!

From the same standpoint, this history must not (and does not) mention that Confucius studied under an older master named Lao Tan, also known as Lao-tzŭ. In this, Professor Fung was more "orthodox" than the orthodox Confucianist tradition which recorded (*Li Ki,* Bk. V, Section II, 22) an episode concerning Confucius, a novice, and Lao Tan, the old master.

To point out that Professor Fung's history was written from what has been called the "orthodox" standpoint is not necessarily to deprecate the book or to discredit that standpoint as untenable. In one of the untranslated appendixes to

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this work, Professor Ch'en Ying-k'o, Dr. Fung's colleague at Tsing Hua University, wrote a report recommending that this history be included in the university series. Here the eminent historian seriously maintains that Chinese thought after the Ch'in Empire (221–206 B.C.), in all its long history and through all its vicissitudes, has in the main fulfilled a great historical mission, "the production and propagation of Neo-Confucianism." This argument shows that our author was not alone in following the standpoint of orthodoxy.

In conclusion, I should mention this history of Chinese philosophy, especially the second volume, is unnecessarily burdened with copious quotations of ill-chosen and ill-digested materials which, even in the Chinese text, were mostly not quite intelligible and in some cases literally nonsensical and which become exceedingly unreadable in English translation, however faithful the translator may be. Out of these, let me cite a shorter paragraph quoted from *The Great Mystery* by Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.–A.D. 18), a very mediocre thinker:

> What is unmixed and held within is associated with the Central Heaven. What diffuses and goes forth is associated with the Fructifying Heaven. The coursing of clouds and dispersion of rain is associated with the Assisting Heaven. The changing of regulations and shifting of rules is associated with the Renewing Heaven. Beautiful brilliance and unblemished perfection is associated with the Purifying Heaven. Emptiness within and expansion without is associated with the Diminishing Heaven. The terminating of life is associated with the Completing Heaven" [II, 143].

Did the author really think that such nonsense deserved a place in a history of philosophy? Has he forgotten that Liu Hsin (died A.D. 23), Yang Hsiung's contemporary and friend, once remarked that *The Great Mystery* was fit only to be used as a stopper for a pot of bean sauce?

New York, N. Y. HU SHIH

SOVIET POLICIES IN CHINA, 1917–1924. By *Allen S. Whiting*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 350. $5.50.)

IN a detailed and full "record of Soviet words and deeds concerning China from 1917 to 1924," as complete as the available Soviet public records permit, Dr. Whiting has provided what is thus far the account of the Soviet side of the encounter between China and Russia during this period. This is a monographic study of importance and high competence. The resolutions, carefully interpreted, of the Comintern and Comintern-sponsored Congresses and the writings of Soviet leaders on the Far East are covered in the first part of the study. The second half deals primarily with the efforts of the Narkomindel (People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs) to win recognition from the Chinese Republic while extending Russian influence in China's border areas of Mongolia and Manchuria. Future studies of this period can rely with confidence on its comprehensiveness, documentation, and detail for guidance and information on Soviet words and publicly

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known deeds. The admirable result is that no major problem or aspect, except the most clandestine, of Soviet policy toward China appears to elude definition with reasonable surety.

This work, however, does not deal with Soviet policies *in* China, as the title suggests, so much as its policies toward China. Only the activities of the Narkomindel within China receive adequate treatment. The influence and activities of the Comintern, as well as the Profintern (Red International of Trade Unions) were, of course, better concealed, because unofficial, and for adequate appraisal need to be seen at work within China itself rather than chiefly from the writings of Soviet publicists and strategists. Even the account of official Soviet policies needs to be supplemented by readings in the Chinese scene, where Chinese reactions to these policies and the subtle blend of revolutionary cross-currents need to be measured for a full assessment of the impact and influence of Soviet policies in China.

This examination of the evolution of Soviet policy in China and its implications for Soviet Russia's position in the Far East leads to some fascinating and major conclusions. Divergences of Comintern, Profintern, and Narkomindel interests and policies emerge repeatedly. In the end Russia's external interests, under the guidance of the Narkomindel, gradually dominated her foreign policy, a development which "transformed the Bolsheviks from revolutionists operating within Russia into Russian statesmen conducting world revolution" (p. 25). Defense of the interests of the Socialist Fatherland not only took precedence over the advancement of the world revolution in the case of the Chinese Eastern Railway and Mongolia, but policies were pursued which "can only be characterized as imperialistic in aim, for they sought to establish Russian power in areas recognized as lying under Chinese sovereignty" (p. 251). The full range of diplomatic methods employed by Soviet officials, from blandishments to bullying, which here are precisely delineated, demonstrates the realism of their policies and the cynicism of their propaganda. Affiliation with the dominant revolutionary trends in China, despite theoretical limitations and anti-bourgeois attitudes in the Comintern and the Profintern, contributed positively to the development of Soviet Russian policy orientation and became the final objective of Soviet leadership. "Two fronts of activity in China, the revolutionary and the diplomatic, sometimes worked separately and at cross purposes, sometimes remained distinct but parallel. Finally, their merger in 1924 placed Soviet Russia in an ascendant position in the Chinese revolution" (p. 248).

Washington, D. C. JOHN M. H. LINDBECK

NATIONALISM IN JAPAN: AN INTRODUCTORY HISTORICAL ANALYSIS. By *Delmer M. Brown*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1955. Pp. viii, 336. $5.00.)

THIS book is exactly what its subtitle indicates: an introductory historical

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analysis. It hardly lives up to the claim, made in the "blurb" on the jacket, that it "is an explanation, rather than a mere description of the way in which nationalism has affected the internal and external affairs of Japan."

Professor Brown starts with a short essay on the general nature of nationalism which serves to set forth the "elements" of nationalism by which to measure the Japanese manifestation of this phenomenon. He then proceeds with his historical analysis to show how nationalism gained momentum only as technological progress, economic expansion, political centralization, cultural unification, and foreign pressure took place.

This analysis is carried out in ten chapters, each dealing with a stage in the development of Japanese nationalism. Each chapter opens with a paragraph or two setting forth the general character of the period, followed by an extended presentation of the supporting facts and events, and ends with a concise summation. The chapter headings—"National Consciousness," "Articulate National Consciousness," "Emperorism and Antiforeignism," "National Reforms," "Preservation of 'Japanese National Essence,'" "Japanism," "National Confidence," "National Reconstruction," "Ultranationalism," and "New Nationalism"—while not altogether self-explanatory, give some idea of the stages through which the author considers Japanese nationalism to have passed.

The work does not represent original research in the sense of making use of hitherto unutilized source materials. Neither does the work represent a particularly original or philosophical interpretation of the phenomenon of nationalism. It is based almost solely on standard secondary works, albeit some are Japanese works little known in America and some are articles in comparatively rare journals.

But the author has very carefully and diligently gone over the whole range of Japanese history from the beginning to the present and has selected, assembled, and organized a prodigious array of facts which might bear on the subject of nationalism. He performs the valuable service of making available a bird's-eye view of the historical sequence of events bearing on the development of Japanese nationalism, and of suggesting the relevance to nationalism of many events usually considered wholly outside such a context.

Professor Brown brings to this task a sound knowledge of Japanese history, an unusual understanding of the Japanese people which he modestly refrains from flaunting, and a sober and judicious attitude. While in a work of this scope there are naturally a few minor errors and omissions, this volume constitutes a scholarly corrective to some of the mystic and flamboyant theories often advanced about the nature of Japanese nationalism. One might wish that the author had added a final chapter of interpretation and conclusions, instead of leaving his often wise observations scattered throughout the narrative, which ends rather abruptly.

Ohio State University KAZUO KAWAI

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WARREN HASTINGS. By *Keith Feiling*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 420. $6.00.)

WITH the decline of Britain's imperial power British interest in imperial history has increased. Recent years have seen the publication of many books, popular as well as scholarly, dealing with the lives of empire builders and events in the founding and organization of the British Empire. Quite different in approach and point of view are the pictures of these men and the account of events presented by nationalistic-minded historians and publicists from late British dependencies among which the subcontinent of India stands foremost. Under these circumstances it is understandable that the work of Warren Hastings, the first British governor general of India, should be reappraised and reviewed.

In his *Warren Hastings* Professor Feiling has culled from sources and secondary material a vast amount of information dealing with events in England and India as well as with the activities of his hero. The story is very full for the years 1772–1784 when Warren Hastings dominated the Indian scene. Less detailed is the discussion of the long-drawn-out impeachment proceedings. Hastings' life in obscurity, 1795–1818, is sketched skillfully and sympathetically.

With a wealth of detail the author depicts the confusion and corruption, the incredibly low state of private and public morality and the almost total lack of a social conscience in governmental circles of both England and India in Hastings' time. That Warren Hastings in moral stature stood head and shoulders above his contemporaries has long been well known. In this matter Professor Feiling offers strong support of Lord Curzon's eulogy of Warren Hastings (*British Government in India,* II, 145–64.) However, in his public life we must not measure Hastings with the yardstick of a later day. The standards of a Peel and a Gladstone do not apply to the India of the eighteenth century. One defect of this book is that the author fails to reveal all the sources of the vast sums of money spent so prodigally by Hastings. Even more serious is the omission of an account of the Indian administrative system and the relations with the Indian states, apart from wars, in this period. One thing seems, however, definitely shown: in 1783 British power in India was saved only by the Treaty of Paris.

As might be expected, Philip Francis is the villain of the piece with a duped Burke running a close second. Feiling's discussion of Hastings' lively interest in Indian art, history, and literature includes information long known. Less familiar may be Hastings' latter-day opposition to English settlements in India and his openly expressed regret that the British failed to employ and respect the natives of India "so much as they deserve to be" (p. 390). Professor Feiling vindicates but does not entirely absolve a man more sinned against than sinning.

University of Wisconsin PAUL KNAPLUND

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THE MEN WHO RULED INDIA: THE GUARDIANS. By *Philip Woodruff*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1954. Pp. 385. $5.00.)

READERS who know India will find the second and concluding volume of this work as rewarding as the first (see *AHR*, October, 1954, p. 109). Those with little or no knowledge of India's history since 1857 will be charmed by many a delightful anecdote and biographical sketch but may feel somewhat at sea. Mr. Woodruff feels obliged to omit most of the story of Indian nationalism and the divergence between Hindu and Muslim which led to partition. Names such as Jawaharlal Nehru and G. K. Gokhalé do not even appear in the index, and references to Mohandas K. Gandhi and Mohammed Ali Jinnah are extraordinarily few. This comes about because of the necessity of doing justice to the hero of the story "a thousand men, not a service nor a system but a thousand individuals, each different from the next" (p. 13) of whom Philip Mason, *alias* Philip Woodruff, is one. Indeed, it is one of the volume's chief merits to show the inappositeness of the term "steel frame" so often applied to these men, and yet to emphasize that if India is to be well governed by their successors there must be a similar "frame," firm yet flexible—now resembling a blade of finest steel and now an Indian weaverbird's nest.

As in the first volume, the author's method is primarily biographical. We have rather full-length studies of two giants—Bartle Frere and Alfred Lyall—and many pictures of lesser lights at work. Mr. Woodruff is anxious to portray both the liberal and the die-hard before and after the end of British rule was in sight. He is even more anxious to show how little the problems confronting the district officer in the countryside changed between 1857 and 1947. In his chapters on the 1920's and early 1930's—a period dominated by the Khilafat movement, *satyagraha*, dyarchy, Nehru Report, Simon Report, Gandhi-Irwin pacts and London Round Table Conferences—Mr. Woodruff makes clear why such things often seemed unreal and unimportant to many a "Guardian" striving to keep his wards at peace with each other and free from excessive want. On many controversial issues, Mr. Woodruff withholds judgment on the ground that we are too close to them. What he often does do, however, is to show the probability that the personal background or record of service of a British military officer or civil servant may have influenced the event (e.g., Amritsar, pp. 239–42). On the whole he eschews reflection on "what might have been," but, like many other close students of the period, he feels that the chance to preserve the political unity of the subcontinent was lost in the mid-1930's. Also, as in the first volume, he gives descriptions of aspects of British Indian administration which are models of clarity. The account of frontier administration, which grows out of the sketch of Sir Robert Sandeman's career, is perhaps the best of these.

It is not extraordinary that this volume seems to lack some of the life and color of the first. Mr. Woodruff's "hero" during the past century differs vastly from the same "hero" two centuries ago, and there have been neither so many nor

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so colorful giants in these days. Moreover it is difficult to stand aloof from a scene in which one has been closely engaged. It seems strange that, though he pays tribute to their abilities, Mr. Woodruff gives no full sketch of any of his Indian colleagues save Dutt, who belonged to an earlier generation. Nevertheless, in raising so excellent and so enduring a monument to their predecessors, Mr. Woodruff has provided the men who rule India and Pakistan now and in the future with a most valuable guide to the virtues to be imitated and the faults to be avoided in the never-ending task of serving the peoples of the subcontinent, to whom both his volumes are dedicated.

University of Pennsylvania HOLDEN FURBER

THE ROOTS OF FRENCH IMPERIALISM IN EASTERN ASIA. By *John F. Cady,* Professor of History, Ohio University. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press for American Historical Association. 1954. Pp. xii, 322. $5.00.)

THIS illuminating and well-organized study of French expansion in China and Indochina during the two decades 1840–1861, based on careful use of the French and British archives, provides a rounded picture of the French motives, their false starts and failures, and eventual qualified success in keeping up with Britain. Relating it always to its context of French domestic politics and European diplomacy, Dr. Cady shows this imperialist spirit at work in one episode and personality after another. Guizot's and Lagrené's curious ineptitude in 1844 (trying to seize a French Hong Kong at Basilan Island in the Sulu archipelago!), Consul Montigny's diplomatic fiasco at Tourane in 1856–1857, Admiral Genouilly's military debacle there in 1858–1859—these and other inglorious strivings reflected the restless French search for personal and national glory. French Catholic missions, which set up fourteen new vicariates within the unopened Chinese interior in the period 1844–1860, manifested a similarly "aggressive ultramontane spirit." In the end, Louis Napoleon used the Anglo-French expeditions of 1858–1860 against China as a cover for sending to the Far East those French military forces (so jealous of the better-prepared British) which could be used at last to seize Saigon in 1861 and begin the dubious story of French Indochina.

Dr. Cady's treatment of the French record seems comprehensive, disillusioned, and dispassionate. He shows no favor to the British bullies, naive Americans, and two-faced Russians who also graced the scene. If anything, he rather sympathizes with the long sequence of French frustrations and tribulations and appreciates both their heroics and their heroism. He constantly enlivens a clear-cut narrative with revealing detail. The Chinese (and possibly the Annamese?) records of Sino-French relations will eventually give a further view of the French missionaries and diplomats, but neither the author's nonuse of Chinese documents nor a few minor slips of transcription will lessen the long-term value of this solid and workmanlike contribution. It provides a convincing basis for his conclusion that

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"the taproot of French imperialism in the Far East from first to last was national pride. . . . Christian missions were supported, in large measure, because they were French. . . . The story constitutes an effective refutation of any exclusively economic explanation of the imperialistic urge."

Harvard University JOHN K. FAIRBANK

American History

PROBING OUR PAST. By *Merle Curti,* Frederick Jackson Turner Professor of History, University of Wisconsin. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1955. Pp. xii, 294. $4.00.)

EVERY person interested in the history of the United States is under deepest obligation to Merle Curti. When the definitive history of American historiography covering the last fifty years is written there can be little doubt that he will be recognized as the person who, more than any other, emphasized the outstanding importance of exploring more broadly and deeply than heretofore that phase of our development which we now frequently refer to as American intellectual history. His contribution in this respect is most significant. A brilliant teacher and prodigious worker he has, as Professor Arthur M. Schlesinger points out in the introduction to the volume under review, "attained an enviable niche in the world scholarship as a historian of the American mind." Not only has he blazed a trail himself by means of his individual research and voluminous publications but he has inspired many of his students to devote themselves to this field of inquiry. In fact so numerous are they that the term "Curti school of history" conveys definite meaning.

The present volume is composed of a collection of essays written by Professor Curti during the years 1926–1953 and published in various learned journals and periodicals. Two reasons account for their being brought together in book form: first, the hope on the author's part that some if not all of these essays may be more accessible not only to the historian but to the general reader who finds pleasure in exploring the less familiar; and secondly, that they may be useful to scholars and students who are working particularly in the field of social and cultural history.

The thirteen essays selected for inclusion in this volume fall into three categories. Part I, "Historiography," includes three essays: "The Democratic Theme in American Historical Literature," which Professor Curti delivered as his presidential address before the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1952; "Frederick Jackson Turner, 1861–1932," in which Curti gives his estimate of the great historian of the frontier; and "A Great Teacher's Teacher," in which high tribute is paid to the late Charles A. Beard.

Four essays comprise Part II, "The Transmission and Context of Ideas." These

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are: "The Great Mr. Locke, America's Philosopher, 1783–1861," "Francis Lieber and Nationalism," "Human Nature in American Thought: The Retreat from Reason in the Age of Science," and "Dime Novels and the American Tradition." Part III, "America Reaching Outward" also contains four essays: "The Reputation of America Overseas, 1776–1860," "Young America," and "America at the World Fairs, 1851–1893." The final essay "Prospects for Future Research" was read at an American Historical Association session on "American Influences Abroad: An Exploration" in 1949.

These essays, not to mention the author's many other writings, add weight to Professor Schlesinger's observation that Professor Curti has not specialized in a few intellectual threads or trends but has addressed himself to a wide variety of his countrymen's concerns and aspirations. The historiographical section of the book might well be made required reading for every graduate student of American history irrespective of his field of interest.

Columbia University HARRY J. CARMAN

POLITICS AND THE CONSTITUTION IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By *William W. Crosskey*. In two volumes. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 710; 711–1410. $20.00.)

THE approximately 1,400 tightly packed pages of this work constitute an impressive and indeed an amazing performance in the way of a reinterpretation of the original meaning of the Constitution. Mr. Crosskey, a professor at the University of Chicago Law School, has written these two volumes as a part of a still more elaborate structure yet to be completed, to demonstrate that the written Constitution contemplated the establishment of a unitary system wherein the central government would possess all powers ordinarily possessed by sovereign governments except those specifically denied, and the states would operate in complete subordination. The enumeration of powers of Congress, as in Article I, section 8, was made not to restrict the central government to an area of enumerated powers but rather to designate these powers as belonging to the legislative rather than to the executive branch. The Supreme Court was not given the power assumed by it in *Marbury* v. *Madison* to strike down acts of Congress which it found to be in conflict with the Constitution. On the other hand, however, it was given much broader powers with respect to the states than it saw fit to exercise. It had the power to strike down state statutes in conflict with state constitutions and to supersede state court decisions on matters of common law. The Court misinterpreted the first ten amendments, the Bill of Rights, when it held that the restrictive force of these amendments applied only to the federal government and not to the states. When by means of the Fourteenth Amendment an attempt was made to restore that power to the federal judiciary, the Supreme Court again denied its exercise.

Mr. Crosskey sets out to prove the thesis stated above and to show "how our

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government became the queer, crippled thing which it is" (p. 13), for so many purposes, under supposedly orthodox theories. He states his main purpose as that of providing the reader with "a specialized dictionary of the eighteenth-century word-usages, and political and legal ideas, which are needed for a true understanding of the Constitution" (p. 5). He constructs his "dictionary" through an intensive examination of the way in which words and concepts were used in the period in which the Constitution was written. The work of other historians of the same subject is largely ignored as either biased or inadequate. The records of contemporaries, such as the framers of the Constitution and the authors of *The Federalist,* are put aside as biased and calculated for propaganda purposes. There is an implied thesis that the American people, learning from Mr. Crosskey's work the true nature of their Constitution, should push aside the vast accumulation of error for which politicians, jurists, and historians have been responsible, and put into effect the true meaning, with resulting concentration of power in the central government and apparently particularly in Congress, and with consequent further subordination of the governing power of the several states.

In spite of the enormous documentation of circumstantial evidence and the passionateness of the argument, the American people will be slow in accepting this drastic rewriting of their supreme law. Furthermore, beyond the range of meanings which may now lie buried beneath the changed exterior of words and ideas as used in the eighteenth century, people who give disciplined thought to constitutional matters accept the assumption that, behind the general phraseology, meanings undergo change with changing times and circumstances and tend roughly to correspond to basic patterns of preference and belief as to what ought to be. The Constitution, in other words, is and has always been an evolving institution, and is not now and has not at any intervening period been exactly what it was at the moment of its adoption. Even if we were to accept the allegation that the original meaning of the Constitution was not what we have believed it to be, we would not be likely at this late date to institute revolutionary change for the purpose of expressing the real will of the founding fathers.

Mr. Crosskey's work, nevertheless, has engendered passionate controversy. It is hard to tell whether the controversial heat results from the denial of beliefs commonly held, or from the fear that a drift in the direction of centralized dictatorship might be instituted, or from the electrification of contact with a dynamic and dogmatic personality which radiates from what would initially appear to be merely a compendium of scholarship. One of the unique characteristics of the work is the difficulty felt by reviewers, whether friendly or unfriendly, in making of it a calm and dispassionate appraisal.

Johns Hopkins University CARL BRENT SWISHER

REBELS AND DEMOCRATS: THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS AND MAJORITY RULE DURING THE AMERICAN

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REVOLUTION. By *Elisha P. Douglass*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. xiv, 368. $5.00.)

THE political and ideological controversies that developed out of the attempts to organize new state governments during the Revolutionary period are brought into sharp focus in this provocative study. The basic contest, as Mr. Douglass sees it, was between the conservative Whigs and the radical democrats. The Whigs, in whose ranks were included nearly all the Revolutionary leaders, distrusted majority rule and favored a "balanced" government. To the extent that they believed in protecting the rights of individuals, they were liberals. But they were also conservative in the sense that the rights to which they were devoted were traditional. Their opponents, chiefly yeoman farmers from the back country, were the first champions of democracy, which they understood to mean a government in which all adult males enjoyed equal political rights and in which political decisions were made by the majority.

In most states the Whig element was so firmly in control of the Revolutionary movement that the advocates of democracy could make little headway. The course of events in South Carolina, Maryland, and New York are reviewed briefly to illustrate this generalization, which, it is suggested, would also apply to Rhode Island, Connecticut, Virginia, New Jersey, and Delaware.

Extended consideration is given to three states in which the forces of democracy were sufficiently vigorous to challenge Whig supremacy. In North Carolina the Regulator movement stimulated popular interest in political reform. By 1776 there was a potent democratic faction in the state, but it failed to achieve its goals because conservatives controlled the constitutional convention. In Massachusetts the democrats also suffered defeat, but they are credited with formulating the concept that constitutions, to be in accord with compact theory, must be written by specially chosen conventions and submitted to the voters for ratification. Only in Pennsylvania, where the democrats were able to organize a strong party and take the leadership away from the divided Whigs, were popular aspirations largely realized. New Hampshire and Georgia also appear to have had important democratic factions, but Douglass found the evidence too fragmentary to permit firm conclusions.

John Adams, Franklin, and Jefferson are singled out for assessment of their democratic qualities, and all are found seriously wanting. Adams was the arch-conservative Whig political scientist, Franklin was an opportunistic politician with vague principles, and Jefferson was a traditional liberal with little sympathy for democracy as a political process.

Because it presents little in the way of new material, this study must be judged almost solely on the basis of the decided interpretations that it gives to familiar events. On the basis of the evidence he presents and the definitions he employs, most readers will probably conclude that Mr. Douglass has overdrawn his picture. He has not persuaded this reader that democracy originated in the Revolutionary

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era, that the basic conflict of the times was between Whigs and democrats, or that his appraisals of the political climate in individual states are conclusive. Nevertheless, the book is welcome for its obviously thoughtful analyses and its independent and provocative judgments.

Rutgers University RICHARD P. MCCORMICK

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Edited by *Julian P. Boyd*. Volume VII, 2 MARCH 1784 TO 25 FEBRUARY 1785. Volume VIII, 25 FEBRUARY TO 31 OCTOBER 1785. *Mina R. Bryan* and *Elizabeth L. Hutter,* Associate Editors. Volume IX, 1 NOVEMBER 1785 TO 22 JUNE 1786. *Mina R. Bryan,* Associate Editor. Volume X, 22 JUNE TO 31 DECEMBER 1786. *Mina R. Bryan* and *Fredrick Aandahl,* Associate Editors. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953 [VII, VIII], 1954 [IX, X]. Pp. xxviii, 652; xxix, 687; xxix 669; xxx, 654. $10.00 ea.)

BEFORE any general consideration is given to the four volumes listed above, it may be noted that the first part of Volume VII continues from Volume VI the correspondence and committee reports of Thomas Jefferson, delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress in its session of 1783–1784. In these later letters and papers, as in the earlier, are found important state papers: for example, the famous "Notes on Coinage."

On May 7, 1784, however, the Congress elected Jefferson to be one of three commissioners for making treaties of amity and commerce abroad, adding his name to those of Dr. Franklin and John Adams. On August 6, Jefferson, with his eldest daughter, arrived safely in Paris. Thus began his service in France as a diplomatic representative of the United States. That service, in that country, is the controlling fact that constitutes the *raison d'être* for these volumes, and, as his work in France lasted into 1789, for other volumes to come.

It may be well to note here the alteration in Jefferson's diplomatic status which took place the following year. On March 10, 1785, Congress made him sole minister to the French Court in succession to Franklin, who at long last was permitted to go home. Two other changes were highly important in their relation to Jefferson's own labors. John Jay, having been elected to fill the long vacant office of Secretary for Foreign Affairs, accepted that post and assumed its duties. John Adams, chosen to represent the United States at the Court of St. James, removed himself and his family to London.

The three commissioners had had little success in their negotiations for commercial treaties. Only the treaty with Prussia, already some time in the making, reached full accomplishment. After Franklin had departed, Adams and Jefferson, constantly exchanging letters, official or personal, continued the treaty-making efforts, but with no better result. That the failure was not the fault of Adams or Jefferson is borne out by their voluminous correspondence, which, so far as

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Jefferson had part in it, is now reprinted, with copious annotation, in the volumes under review. European interest in America was cooling and the uncertainty frequently voiced as to the ability of the states to continue their union received only too much confirmation in the official communications of Secretary Jay and in the letters received by Jefferson from his friends in America, particularly from his collaborators Madison and Monroe.

After Jefferson became minister he was increasingly occupied with the relations between his country and her great ally. There was the heavy weight of American indebtedness to the French government, and to some individuals as well. But through 1786 Jefferson gave more attention to the effort to secure for American commerce some relaxation of the dues and restrictions fixed in the French fiscal "system." Concessions were made to American whalers, more free ports in the French West Indies were opened, and permission was given for the entry of some American lumber. But the grip which the Farmers General had established over tobacco imports, and the contract which they had made with Robert Morris, could not, at this time, be much weakened. In these matters Lafayette had interested himself before Jefferson's arrival, and to Jefferson he gave generously of his time and efforts. The concessions that had been made, or were promised, are well summed up in the letter of Calonne to Jefferson, of October 22, 1786.

Lafayette was eager to involve himself also in the long-standing problem of the Barbary States. In 1786 the ruler of Morocco consented to negotiate with Thomas Barclay, deputized for the purpose by Adams and Jefferson. By the end of the year 1786 Jefferson conceived and put on paper plans, first for a convention, and second, for joint naval action against the other predatory powers. At this point Lafayette seems to have desired to be the commander of the force; but the scheme found little support and was not taken up.

From the standpoint of quantity the great number of official documents in these volumes reminds one of the mass of routine papers in the years when Jefferson was governor. But the analogy is limited by one great and happy difference. Despite his official burdens, Jefferson in France found time to write letters of his own choosing. He kept in epistolary contact not only with his family and his business representatives in Virginia but also with his "philosophical" friends—the elder Madison, David Rittenhouse, and Francis Hopkinson—to mention but a few. As one proceeds from the seventh to the tenth volume of the *Papers,* one becomes aware of Jefferson's new friends, such as Dr. Richard Price, among English liberals, and La Rochefoucauld d'Anville, and other friends of Franklin, both men and women. Also in these volumes is found the romantic correspondence with Mrs. Maria Cosway.

It was in Paris that he first had printed the *Notes on Virginia;* that he wrote to the press to defend America; that he assisted Démeunier with the latter's contribution to the *Encyclopédie méthodique* and Soulés with his *Histoire des*

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troubles de l'Amérique anglaise. In these volumes there is a wealth of revelations of what Jefferson thought, what he did, and what he was, which makes parts of them, at least, good reading.

Chevy Chase, Maryland ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT

SAM HOUSTON: THE GREAT DESIGNER. By *Llerena Friend.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 394. $6.00.)

LIKE Jefferson, Lee, and Lincoln, Sam Houston has been fortunate in his twentieth-century biographers. Unlike their lives, his life has been re-created most satisfactorily in one-volume works. Marquis James received the Pulitzer Prize for *The Raven* twenty-five years ago. Now Miss Friend, librarian of the Barker Texas History Center of the University of Texas Library, has contributed a second valuable book and has added substantially to the Houston story.

Both Miss Friend and Mr. James went to the sources, scrutinized manuscripts, and dissected legends. If *The Raven* often is more dramatic, the new book contains good theater too. But Miss Friend's forte is admirable analysis. She is bold in her efforts to solve the unsolved. If she minimizes battle scenes, or abstains from gilding familiar lilies, this is due to her absorption in meeting challenges which less daring scholars might shun. The James account and the Friend account are first-rate products of different minds, contrasting techniques, and similar objectives. They complement one another, and each of them will long be read and enjoyed by discriminating people.

The worst that can be said of *Sam Houston: The Great Designer* is that repetitive features might have been cut. There is some duplication, for example, on pages 82–85 and 104–107. (Such occasional defects are by-products of a determination to do justice chronologically to major subjects within a combined chronological-topical framework.) On page 169, there is a misleading implication that Henry Clay and Martin Van Buren were members of Congress in 1846. Not only sensation-seekers but also scholars may want to know more about Eliza Allen and Tiana Rogers Gentry; one can feel confident that, if other information were accessible, the resourceful Miss Friend would have found it.

The author has an eye for significance. At the end of the book, as at the beginning and from time to time on intervening pages, she pauses to point out the meaning of matters in need of a specialist's interpretation. Finally, let it be emphasized that Sam Houston—the national statesman, the skilled politician, the ever-so-human and many-sided man—walks and talks and errs and triumphs, man-like, in this biography. If incidentals sometimes compete with critical events for space in Miss Friend's volume, Houston himself emerges from her writing the greater and more intelligible as the result of her research.

University of Kentucky HOLMAN HAMILTON

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ERA OF THE OATH: NORTHERN LOYALTY TESTS DURING THE CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION. By *Harold Melvin Hyman.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press for the American Historical Association. 1954. Pp. 229. $5.00.)

THE framers of our current security policy were probably ignorant of the Civil War and Reconstruction experience with the problem of testing loyalty, or that after twelve weary years of loyalty oaths one congressman in utter disillusionment suggested that Congress offer "a reward for the discovery of an invention which would provide a proper way of determining loyalty."

Specialists in the Civil War and Reconstruction periods will find in Dr. Hyman's *The Era of the Oath* a calm, judicious, and very satisfying monograph. But the people it would help most at the moment are the legislators and executives who frame and administer policy and the journalists who interpret the news.

The problem of testing loyalty arose early in the Civil War. Few would deny how serious and how difficult an issue it was, or how pervasive its influence in all aspects of governmental affairs and public attitudes. Not only was an armed enemy within the sight of the capitol at Washington but every bureau of the federal government had within its personnel "Southern sympathizers" ranging from moderate antagonism to the war administration to active espionage for the Confederacy. The problem of testing loyalty continued well into the Reconstruction era. Here apprehension lest the fruits of victory be jeopardized by returning to positions of influence and power men uncleansed of the taint of treason operated to dictate the use of loyalty tests. Hence loyalty tests served a double purpose. They were intended to protect the Union and they were an outlet for war and postwar neuroses. To some people also they constituted a device by which loyalty to a particular political party could be identified with loyalty to the Union.

The best that the Civil War could devise as a loyalty test was the taking of an oath of loyalty. Apparently the men of that period had not read the lesson of feudalism in regard to the efficacy of oaths to command loyalty any more than we today are concerning ourselves with what the Civil War experience reveals. The score of years following Fort Sumter saw a rich and confused growth of oaths, executive orders, congressional investigation committees, and judicial commentaries. Administrators, notably Hugh McCulloch in the Treasury Department, tried to accomplish results which the oaths made impossible, and when they demurred from strict subserviency to the loyalty program they became the butt of scurrilous and destructive attack. Lawyers, who as a class were singled out for special treatment, experienced problems of action and of conscience not unlike those which have plagued the teaching profession in recent years. As judicial decisions and executive orders sought to interpret the loyalty system the robes of justice came to look more and more like a crazy-quilt. Progressively the situation degenerated into the cheaper forms of politics.

Dr. Hyman concludes that the loyalty tests of the Civil War and Reconstruc-

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tion period failed because they did not measure loyalty. It seems sound to agree that they failed to offer protection against treason or to guarantee service to the Union. Did they help to relieve the fears and tensions of war and postwar neuroses, or did they rather feed the sickness which created them?

Dr. Hyman writes with clarity and precision. The book is a model of what the monograph form can be. An important subject is analyzed with mastery of material and intelligence of interpretation. One can use the result with confidence in building a larger synthesis. Adversely it must be said that the separation of notes from text by placing the former at the back of the book is especially irritating and time-wasting in this instance where so often questions of exact citation and reference influence one's judgment. A book sponsored by the American Historical Association should be more considerate of the scholar's cherished prejudice that footnotes remain footnotes.

Harvard University PAUL BUCK

WILLIAM H. WELCH AND THE RISE OF MODERN MEDICINE. By *Donald Fleming*. [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1954. Pp. vi, 216. $3.00.)

THIS effective biography presents Dr. Welch as the leader who "transformed American medical schools from the worst to the best in the world in one generation." Others may hesitate in ascribing so great an influence to one man and may also have doubts about the superlatives "worst" and "best"; yet in large measure this striking generalization is true. American medical education underwent a metamorphosis between 1890 and 1915, and Welch—more than any other one man—deserves credit for what emerged. The outcome involved not only the reform of schools as such but also an introduction of the research spirit into the entire medical environment in this country.

An able biography of Welch by James and Simon Flexner appeared in 1941. Professor Fleming acknowledges indebtedness to this work, but re-examines the extensive sources and reaches his own conclusions. The result is a relatively condensed study, eminently readable and emphasizing certain interpretations of Dr. Welch and of the issues with which he was associated. One of the many merits of the biography is that these issues are related to the larger context of American social history as well as to their immediate professional setting.

Deft sketches of Welch himself recall the puritanic background and his escape therefrom into a world more suited to his own inclinations. One disappointment —failure to secure a post in classics at Yale—diverted him to his father's profession; but he had from the start no desire to be a medical practitioner. Science beckoned, and the portal to medical science in the 1870's was graduate training in Germany. There, Fleming states, Welch wished to "try his hand at genuine research." Was he hoping, at this stage, to become a great investigator? The ques-

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tion is not easily answered. The young doctor already aspired to the chair in pathology at the new Johns Hopkins University—a position which promised opportunities for educational reform. Did Welch, then, undertake research training for its own sake or as a means to a related but distinct end?

These queries are pertinent to an aspect of Welch's career on which the Flexners and Fleming offer somewhat different interpretations. Welch did creditable work in pathology and bacteriology, both in Germany and in Baltimore after appointment at Hopkins, but his investigations were not outstanding. After about 1900, his interests were increasingly devoted to the teaching, promotion, and organization of research—in his own laboratory and through his connections with professional bodies, journals, and foundations. The Flexners state that he was "drawn away" from original studies by outside pressures and was forced to give up "the dreams of his young manhood." Fleming, however, suggests (pp. 128 f.) that Welch's "withdrawal" was voluntary and that, after some years, "the habit of research had slipped away from him forever." Hence Welch, in a sense, betrayed his original purpose but "learned to live with his own response" by maintaining an interest in the research of others.

The implication here is that Welch always retained, deep down, a feeling that research was a higher calling than that of promoting and organizing. This, of course, was not the prevailing American view. Indeed, the very fact that Welch is still remembered better than are the men who actually *did* the research, suggests that American outlooks have changed little in this respect even today. Be that as it may, there is a third possibility regarding the doctor's own motivations, namely, that in this as in other matters he really did just what he had always wished to do.

Whatever the personal factors, Welch became the most potent leader in reorganizing medical education; first at Hopkins and later through his influence on the Rockefeller foundations, in the country at large. Fleming's interpretation of developments within Hopkins emphasizes a struggle between the ideal of impersonal science (as exemplified in the anatomist, Dr. Mall) and the ideals of teaching, clinical work, and good professional relations (as exemplified in Dr. Osler). Welch is said to have held the balance between the two but threw his weight eventually with Mall. Those who recall the school in those days may find this an oversimplified interpretation but the analysis is plausible and intriguing.

Welch's success resulted both from his remarkable grasp of the needs of medical education and from the effectiveness of his own personality. Friendly and urbane, he had a genuine "presence," but combined this with an inner reserve which—it is suggested—hid the tensions produced by many and distracting activities. There is no doubt that Welch became one of the great "influentials" of his time—the greatest, Fleming believes, "that the biological sciences had yet known in America."

Johns Hopkins University Richard H. Shryock

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GREAT RIVER: THE RIO GRANDE IN NORTH AMERICAN HISTORY. Volume I, INDIANS AND SPAIN. Volume II, MEXICO AND THE UNITED STATES. By *Paul Horgan*. (New York: Rinehart and Company. 1954. Pp. xv, 447; vii, 453–1020. $10.00.)

Mr. Horgan was originally assigned a volume on the Rio Grande in the Rinehart "Rivers of America" series, but, since the material overflowed the limits of that series, the resultant two volumes now stand by themselves. The purpose of the series—colorful or dramatic approach to the past rather than factual, classroom history, must however be kept in mind in evaluating Mr. Horgan's work. But while the treatment was aimed for the general reader and while it was not the primary purpose of the work to produce professional history, the author has added such scholarly accouterments as abbreviated back-of-the-book citations and a bibliography "to reassure the scholarly reader with respectable evidence."

Mr. Horgan himself has a fitting background and abilities to undertake such an assignment. He is a novelist, an artist, a music critic, an army colonel, a long-time resident of New Mexico, and an enthusiast for the Southwest. He writes with facility and color and has a sense for the dramatic.

The two volumes are intended as a "work of art" and as such they reflect fully the sense of values of the author. Horgan deliberately tries to reveal and to interpret the spirit of the great river. The interpretations, obviously, are his own, and herein is the real crux from which the objective reviewer or reader must approach the volumes. Horgan starts with known, accepted, "historical" facts, with things directly or indirectly associated with the river, and with these facts there may be virtually unanimous agreement—therein is the approach to objective truth—but beyond that is the ascribed meaning, the interpretation, and the animism, a sort of pantheistic overtone which pervades the volumes.

The Rio Grande, rising in southern Colorado and flowing southward, almost bisects New Mexico and, departing from that state, turns generally southeastward to become the southwestern boundary of Texas. By the time it debouches into the Gulf of Mexico, the river has stretched itself to almost 1900 miles and become second in length among the rivers of the United States. The stream maintained a large aboriginal Indian population which was eventually subjugated by the Spanish. Horgan ably displays the way of life of the Pueblo Indian, who worshipped in his every act, and the Spanish authority, which was always characterized by conflict between "Two Majesties"—church and state. A cogent contribution is made with the historical treatment of the Rio de las Palmas (the lower) section of the Rio Grande. With Horgan's mapping of the routes of Coronado, Cabeza de Vaca, and others, however, there will not be unanimous agreement.

While the first volume deals mainly with Indians and Spaniards, the second, which is subtitled "Mexico and the United States," for practical purposes is concerned with Texas and things associated fairly directly with Texas. Like the first volume, the second is composed of essays on topics having either direct or indirect

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connection with the river. Stephen F. Austin, the first Anglo-American *empresario* in Texas, is dealt with at great length, from his colonization pursuits in the valleys of the Brazos and Colorado to his political activities in Mexico City, and finally, to a résumé of the Texas Revolution. All this is rather far afield from the Rio Grande except that Texas, after declaring independence from Mexico, on December 19, 1836, in order to have the security of a buffer area outside the core of Anglo-American settlement, claimed the Rio Grande as a southern and western boundary.

The section entitled "Collective Prophecy" has about forty pages of generalizing on the frontier, democracy, and American art, with little that is particularly germane to the subject of the Rio Grande. Horgan's following of Zachary Taylor does bring the account back to the river for an excellent treatment that finally broadens to a general account of the Mexican War. The abbé Domenech, a likable French missionary on the Rio Grande, is given more space than the final settlement of the boundary question.

With John R. Baylor's and H. H. Sibley's thrusts at New Mexico for Confederate Texas, Horgan does a superb piece of writing, and the same should be said for his summary of Robert T. Hill's running of the Rio Grande canyons in the Big Bend section of the river. The Cattle Kingdom unquestionably has obligations in point of origin to the area between the Rio Grande and Nueces, and Horgan writes a charming and in many ways instructive essay, but, again, Horgan's conclusions and interpretations are his own and not the real core of history. For example, he says: "The life he [the cowboy] chose resembled the Indian's more than any other, but it lacked the sustaining spiritual power of the Indian's nature—mythology, and so it could not really hold for him the unquestioned dignity of a system that tried to explain . . . the whole of human life." That quotation alone contains enough controversial material to be bandied back and forth for hours either by academic historians or old-time cow waddies. Other persons wholly knowledgeable with reference to Indians and cowboys will choose the dignity of the cowboy and the values of his way of life over that of any Indian, be he Comanche, or Pueblo, or Iroquois.

In other words, Horgan has produced a work of unimpeachable literary excellence, but the academic historian, bound down by seminar standards from Leopold von Ranke to Herbert Baxter Adams, cannot go all the way. He may stop when Horgan moves from phenomena to noumena.

It is unfortunate that so pretentious a work has been left with somewhat inconsequential errors which a bit better editing would have removed, but their presence will make it possible for collectors to identify the first edition (e.g. I, x, 29; II, 577, 959, 966, 977).

University of Texas H. Bailey Carroll

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THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Volumes VII and VIII, THE DAYS OF ARMAGEDDON, 1909–1914 and 1914–1919. Selected and Edited by *Elting E. Morison, et al.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 816; vi, 817–1621. $20.00 per set.)

THESE final two volumes of Theodore Roosevelt's letters maintain the high standard of editing that the early volumes led the reader to expect. The series will long remain a model of careful workmanship and accurate reproduction. The volumes cover the period from Roosevelt's departure from the White House on March 4, 1909, to his death on January 5, 1919.

Many questions to which solutions might have been found in these letters are left unanswered or with only hints of what the answers might be: We still do not know clearly why the Republicans did not nominate Roosevelt in 1916 or whether they would have nominated him in 1920. We have no clue to the reason for his contempt for and dislike of Winston Churchill that led him to call the British leader a "cad," to deny he was a gentleman, and to refuse to meet him in 1910. We do not know what, when the war was won, his attitude toward a league of nations would have been. We can only guess whether he would have understood the foreign problems that followed World War I as Volumes III to VI indicate he comprehended those of his presidency.

Besides an introduction and the useful chronological table that has accompanied earlier volumes, the editors provide an acknowledgment of books quoted and a list of 194 manuscript collections searched by or for Elting Morison's editorial staff. The list indicates, as all such lists should but often do not, the collections that were richest in Roosevelt letters. The appendix provides a most useful essay by John Blum on "Method and Materials."

Again one is impressed with the debt of gratitude the historian and the public owe both to the editors and to the Roosevelt family for the complete freedom of these volumes from censorship. So far as is ascertainable no censorship was applied. Roosevelt's command of the English language enabled him without ever using profanity to denounce men and events with completely devastating effect. Fear of libel suits, dread of hurting the feelings of people still alive, false notions of taste and propriety, sheer timidity would have led most editors and families to edit a great deal of the vitality and vividness out of these letters. Both family and editors have followed the sage and generous advice Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., once gave that, since this was the way Theodore wrote and talked on occasion, his forceful language should be printed without editing. Thus the letter is printed in which he says: La Follette "has shown himself to be an unhung traitor, and if the war should come he ought to be hung." Thus also the letter is printed in which Roosevelt says of Nicholas Murray Butler that "he is the silliest and most vicious of those reactionaries who are really reactionaries, and not merely grafters." Thus, too, appears the letter in which he calls Butler "an aggressive and violent ass." The perhaps most picturesque epithet hurled at Wilson is missing, but that

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seems to have been a mere matter of selection, for the War President is called a "cold-blooded, selfish, and tricky creature," a man who "is yellow all through," and a "prize jackass." Letters are printed unflattering to Roosevelt, too, letters, for instance, in which his hatred and emotion led him to outbursts of unreasonableness and unfairness which, as one very close to him once warned, were what made it so terribly hard for those who loved him to defend him. Letters are printed which make it clear that his distrust and hatred of Wilson had led him actually to persuade himself that the President of the United States was more concerned to frustrate him than to win the war. Unlike the editor of a famous contemporary's correspondence, these editors have refused to censor a letter of high praise of Albert Fall, who was soon to go to the penitentiary. On the happier side are printed without the omissions previously deemed necessary his delightfully frank appraisals of prominent Europeans he met in 1910. Even his description of Queen Wilhelmina is included. Here are Theodore's contempt for her, his judgment that she was "not only commonplace but common," his comment that her "pretentiousness . . . made her ridiculous" and reminded him of "a puffed-up wife of some leading grocer" in some American country town.

Several changes in editorial policy so greatly add to the value of these volumes that one wishes they could have been adopted retroactively into the earlier volumes. The explanatory footnotes, always valuable, have been greatly expanded in both length and number to the immeasurable benefit of the reader. Furthermore, in-letters whose absence from earlier volumes has been regrettable, are now more frequently supplied to provide greater meaning for Roosevelt's answers to them.

The matter of selection still raises question but seems more wisely handled than previously. The earlier volumes included only a selection so that the serious research student still could not avoid going to the manuscript collection, as he presumably does not have to do in the case of the published Washington or Jefferson writings. It always seemed to this reviewer that unless the researcher's purpose was to be served by a full printing of all letters except form letters and trivia, a smaller selection would have served Mr. Morison's expressed purpose of revealing Roosevelt's thought and action. In these last two volumes the proportion of letters included has been reduced "because of the increasing realization," as Mr. Morison puts it, "that three or four letters out of twenty or thirty will often give as fair a representation of a subject as eight or ten out of twenty or thirty." Furthermore, it is true, as the editor also points out, that in these later years there was an increasing tendency to say the same thing in a greater number of letters. Hence the basis of selection seems improved. Yet in these later years the selective process has had a strange effect. Reading all the manuscript collection gave a clear impression that the bulk had increased but that the quality of Roosevelt's correspondents and of his letters to them and the importance of what he wrote about had all declined. Selection has eliminated an obvious repetitiousness; the selective process with an inevitable choosing of the best and most important

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letters has given a total effect of quality in the last of the eight volumes much nearer to the high quality of earlier years than reading the whole correspondence would do.

Again, too, letters are omitted whose absence is regrettable. The whole story of Theodore Roosevelt cannot be told until the families let research scholars into the letters of Leonard Wood and George B. Cortelyou from which the Morison staff was excluded. In the appendix to this last volume appear letters recently turned up by the family. It is a great pity that Mrs. Roosevelt destroyed her husband's letters to her rather than perhaps sealing them for a later generation. Mr. Morison seems to say that one childhood letter and a late brief telegram are all that survive. More diligent searching would have produced at least six more, four of them long and interesting ones, as well as a letter of his wife, Edith, giving feminine corroboration of Theodore's impression of Queen Wilhelmina. The publishing in the appendix of a letter from Robert Grant to James Ford Rhodes about Roosevelt proves how valuable other letters of this sort would have been to the understanding of Roosevelt that was Mr. Morison's purpose in publishing the Roosevelt letters themselves. Selection is a matter of judgment, but as in earlier volumes the editors chose to omit some letters that do seem worthy of inclusion. Unfortunate, for instance, particularly after America's recent experiences with armies of occupation, is the omission of a letter revealing Theodore in his most perceptive state of mind on the subject of armies of occupation. Missing, too, is another in Roosevelt's tersest and most vigorous style telling why he did not like Herbert Hoover. The reader would certainly have enjoyed two amusing notes to Margot Asquith on American expatriates and on Britishers who found their company agreeable.

These last years were for Roosevelt tragic years. Through the Progressive era the letters continue to be exciting. Letters like his two long accounts of his European travels, some of his comments on judges and lawyers, many of his analyses of political and economic issues during the years of battling for the Lord against reactionary Republicanism portray Roosevelt at his best. The letters indicate, too, that though he disliked Bolshevism and fought it in this country, he was better informed about Russia under it and more understanding about its rise in Russia than most Americans. Roosevelt out of power, however, chafing about things he disliked and could not help, loses much of the quality that earlier letters reflected. Successful leadership, joyful in accomplishment and in able handling of large problems, had brought out the great qualities in Roosevelt. So, too, had association with interesting men. Now Speck von Sternburg and Hay were dead. Exigencies of his being ambassador to the hated Wilson cut Spring Rice off. Roosevelt had broken with many of the friends like Root and Taft whose abilities inspired his ablest thinking and most brilliant style. Even the old zest for a fight is soured and the sound of battle made discordant as he fights an apparently hopeless cause in opposition instead of leading triumphant forces of progress and reform or building up America's power and prestige in the world as he was

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doing in the earlier volumes. His intense hatred and distrust of the kaiser, of Hearst, of Wilson, of La Follette, of pacifists and socialists attain an emotionalism that does not add to his stature. Yet along with the hate are poignant revelations of how tender and compassionate he could be. Small frustrations even in petty matters are deadening even to ordinary men. Great frustration in world-shaking events and being cut off from the people doing important things was catastrophic for a man used from his early twenties to successful accomplishment in collaboration with important people. The letters of the last years reveal this tragedy and are tinged with sadness—for the country as well as for Roosevelt personally.

University of Wisconsin HOWARD K. BEALE

THE DOLLAR DECADE: BUSINESS IDEAS IN THE 1920's. By *James Warren Prothro.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 256. $4.75.)

BEFORE beginning his analysis of the political ideas of American businessmen three decades ago, Dr. Prothro wisely acknowledges that "to systematize the ideas of a group is necessarily to expose them" more conspicuously than they were exposed in their own day, as they were stated in the contexts of speeches and articles. The officers and writers for the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, whom the author selects as representative of business thought, certainly did speak off the top of their minds, and speak *ad hoc;* and they neither acknowledged loyalty to anyone's political system nor essayed to create one of their own. Many things they said were at cross-purposes, and some were silly. Jules S. Bache (the art collector), for instance, was no less realistic than many colleagues when he wrote in the *Proceedings* of the N.A.M., "Taxation should never be a question of politics. It is the gravest mistake in the world that our political representatives in Washington have anything to do with taxation." The excess with which business spokesmen praised business leadership and condemned reform and criticism, their anti-intellectualism and their own loose and arrogant conceptions, are painful to contemplate even at thirty years' distance.

Yet there was sufficient spread of business theorizing for the author to turn up ample comment to be categorized under three major heads of political thought: "Human Nature," "The Good Society," and "Government." His truly distinguished achievement is to have reported the ideas logically and entertainingly, and to have shown how intimately the main ones depended on one another. In the end he reduces his findings to three pairs of dogmas held by business leaders. First a doctrine of the elite, matched by a material standard of values which measured individual superiority and inferiority purely in terms of economic production and earnings. Second, as ruling attitudes toward society, the beliefs that "not governments, but business" was the greatest instrument of the

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community, and that social stability was the principal goal of organization of any kind. Finally, with specific reference to government, the businessmen believed that popular control was a thing to fear and fight consistently and that the protection of individual freedom was the one field of usefulness of the state.

Dr. Prothro's total subject is an important one, and in bold analysis he has encompassed it ably. Were the presentation more historical than it is, it would have contained more background data on the Chamber, the N.A.M., and the spokesmen most frequently quoted, and more reference to the surrounding pragmatisms of the schoolmen, churchmen, and labor leaders; and one may object a little that, were the careful text yet a whit more precise, there would be no occasions, such as do occur, for a reader's wondering where paraphrase of businessmen of the twenties ends and where the author's comment of the fifties takes over. At the conclusion one is not surprised to discover that Dr. Prothro lines up with the new conservatives, that he believes that "the greatest indictment of the business theory under the aegis of the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce is that it betrayed the responsibilities of conservatism itself," and that he intends his commentary to be also a tract for the present epoch.

Johns Hopkins University CHARLES A. BARKER

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1937. In five volumes. Volume I, GENERAL. Volume II, BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, EUROPE, NEAR EAST, AFRICA. [Department of State Publications 5435, 5442.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1954. Pp. viii, 1015; vii, 971. $4.25 ea.)

OF these two volumes, the first is by far the more interesting. It covers such topics as the "general political developments in Europe," the Spanish Civil War, various suggestions or negotiations on such questions as the limitation of armaments, economic conferences, and acceptance of fundamental principles of international policy. The second volume is almost wholly devoted to trade agreements, various kinds of conventions, and the usual complaints, inquiries, explanations, or other business which constitute the routine of international intercourse. Worthy of note, however, are the exchanges with Germany over Mayor La Guardia's derogatory remarks about Hitler and over the utterances of Ambassador Dodd before the termination of his mission in December. Relations with the U.S.S.R. have been omitted from Volume II because they have been covered in the separate volume already printed on *The Soviet Union, 1933–1939*.

With these volumes the list of papers, which was formerly supplied, has been omitted in an attempt to speed up publication of the series. Also, as in the 1936 volumes, the indexes have been prepared outside the department. Students of foreign affairs must applaud any effort to lessen the gap between events and publica-

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tion, and none can complain over the loss of the lists with their précis of each paper. The serious student must look at each paper for himself anyway, and by using the table of contents and following the chronological arrangement he need experience little difficulty in finding the subject matter he wants.

This is not so true, however, if the researcher is interested in individual men rather than events, or if he wants to find out who a man was that is mentioned only by official title. The footnotes usually, though not always, give the official position of a man named in a paper but do not identify the "Ambassador," or the "Prime Minister," or whatever who may be mentioned solely by title. The search for individuals could be greatly facilitated by a more complete index, including, as is not now the case, all United States and foreign nationals mentioned in the papers; and both editing and compositing time could be saved if many footnotes were eliminated by giving the official position and dates of office in the index entry of each proper name. Since this might increase costs and slow down the preparation of each volume, a cheaper alternative and one still helpful to the student, would be the listing by name, in each volume, of United States and foreign officials mentioned in the papers. This, too, would eliminate many footnotes. Also a further editorial service might be rendered by inserting the name of an official, mentioned only by title, in the text within brackets.

Again in 1937, as in 1936, there are excellent reporting and many shrewd observations which offer bases for some revision, or change of emphasis at least, in the Spanish story and the attitudes toward the Axis powers. The tenacity with which the United States adhered to its policy of neutrality and yet the temptations to promote some means of achieving world peace are even more strongly marked in 1937 than in previous years.

Clark University DWIGHT E. LEE

THE ROOSEVELT LEADERSHIP, 1933–1945. By *Edgar Eugene Robinson.* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1955. Pp. 491. $6.00.)

THE preparation and publication of this book was due to the will of the late J. Brooks B. Parker of Philadelphia, who directed that the services of an outstanding historian be engaged to perform the task. Mr. Parker desired a "contemporary appraisement without fear, favor, or prejudice" of the influence of Franklin D. Roosevelt "before it is too late." Dr. Robinson, a historian of distinguished reputation (and a long-time director of the Hoover Library), was engaged under these unusual circumstances, and he has produced an unusual kind of book. The author explains that his work is neither biography nor history, but a "story" for the general reader, dealing with Roosevelt's general methods and providing an interpretation of the era of his leadership. He further states that it is his aim to cut through the "masses of conflicting evidence" and to reach a point of "detachment."

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The book, while provocative, makes hard reading. Transitions in thought are not always clear, there is considerable repetition, and there are frequent contradictions and obscurities. More serious is Dr. Robinson's somewhat careless use of words. "Radical" and "radicalism," for example, appear in varied contexts and are likely to be misleading since they do not convey the meaning usually given to them. It is a bit strange to read, as an instance (p. 381), that the major political alignment in America has always been one of "radicals versus conservatives." The author traces at some length the development of an *interventionist* foreign policy by Roosevelt during the late thirties, but one is surprised to see this labeled repeatedly in the text (and in the chapter title) as an "aggressive" foreign policy. Again, in discussing the Yalta Conference, he speaks of Roosevelt's "concessions" (p. 360), but two pages later he uses the word "surrender."

Equally disturbing to the professional historian are the many generalizations from insufficient evidence or contrary to evidence. One is startled to read (p. 13) that Herbert Hoover was elected in 1928 because an overwhelming majority of voters believed his conceptions promised a "New Day" for all mankind. (Historians may recall that the most prominent "issues" in that campaign were rum, Romanism, and prosperity.) Dr. Robinson makes a flat statement that Roosevelt had "Socialistic objectives" (p. 263), that "No political program that emerged in the Roosevelt administration was distinctly the expression of the American tradition" (p. 404), and that the President and his followers sought to make government, and particularly the executive, "all-powerful" (p. 400). He further asserts (p. 386) that Roosevelt did not understand that there was a difference between the Russian and the American view of "democracy"!

The conclusion of the book is implicit in the title of the final chapter: "The Tragedy of Leadership." Dr. Robinson finds Roosevelt to be the most successful popular leader in history—but a tragic failure. This may appear paradoxical to the reader, but it is not so to the author, who reveals his own belief in the "frustrations of all popular rule" (p. 13). The author states that he sought a "frame of reference" in which to judge Roosevelt's leadership "without partisanship," but it clearly develops that his frame of reference is one profoundly opposed to the principle and practice of popular and party government as it has evolved in this country. Judging within this frame, Dr. Robinson quite naturally defends the policies of his friend and ideal statesman, Herbert Hoover, while indicting Franklin Roosevelt and the American people.

The work is not without value. It contains many shrewd observations upon Roosevelt and American politics. It is, moreover, a significant document of contemporary literature, showing how the events of the New Deal era appeared to a scholar of Dr. Robinson's point of view. And the author has labored conscientiously to be fair, he has read widely, and displays remarkable erudition. He concludes that Franklin Roosevelt was a "man of fundamentally good intention overwhelmed by the forces of his time." It might be said of Dr. Robinson, a man

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of equally good intention, that in his effort to achieve "detachment" he was overcome by his own sympathies and preconceptions.

Michigan State University THOMAS H. GREER

PREJUDICE, WAR, AND THE CONSTITUTION. By *Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart,* and *Floyd W. Matson.* [Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement, Volume III.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 408. $5.00.)

THIS analysis of a sector of the American home front in the Second World War suggests how the events of those years are falling into their proper perspective in our history. The relocation of the West Coast Japanese seemed to so many in 1942 to be a matter of course; half a generation later we consider it not so much impossible to believe that it happened as terrifying that it did. Messrs. tenBroek, Barnhart, and Matson of the University of California at Berkeley have exhaustively examined the record. Their conclusion is candid and unequivocal: ". . . the Japanese American episode of World War II looms as a great and evil blotch upon our national history." With this judgment we cannot cavil, for by our action we indicted a whole people.

Prejudice, War, and the Constitution is concerned with the meaning of our wartime behavior on the Pacific Coast as well as with a description of it. Part I is a careful, orderly account of the growth of what the authors call, "The Japanese Stereotype." They argue that by the end of 1938 anti-Japanese feeling was so well developed that the groundwork for the evacuation of 1942 had already been laid effectively. Pearl Harbor was merely the signal for "the activation of the stereotype." Part II treats of the relocation itself and maintains that it was not pressure groups and politicians who were its chief architects but Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt of the Western Defense Command and his subordinates. The authors declare that the "military necessity" which DeWitt invoked was imaginary and a product of hysteria. Nevertheless, they justly charge DeWitt with folly rather than knavery. Part III is an extended discussion of the constitutional considerations in the court cases that grew out of the evacuation. The authors show that the detention of 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry was unjustified in itself, in every respect, and violative of the equal protection of the laws.

It is meaningless to fix the blame, as the authors try, on the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, Assistant Secretary John J. McCloy, the Congress, and the Supreme Court. The racism that underlay the evacuation order is inextricably entwined with our culture. The angry and repetitious language of this book reflects the frustration and wonder which comes from the realization that we cannot be a different kind of people from what we are. And what kind is that?—the kind that in the heat of war committed grave sins against some of its most cherished constitutional guarantees

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and, simultaneously, with generous grants from foundations, began in outrage to study the indecent purport and effects of those transgressions. This volume —a result of that study—is not only important for what it has to say but because it exists.

Columbia University HENRY F. GRAFF

THE STATE OF ALASKA. By *Ernest Gruening*. (New York: Random House. 1954. Pp. xiii, 607. $7.50.)

GRUENING has written the story of economic exploitation and misgovernment of our largest territory, which, compared to similar jurisdictions and even to those dependencies called unincorporated territories, has been treated as the Cinderella among Uncle Sam's children.

For its first seventeen years under our flag, our new possession was left without any civil government. In 1884, it was made a "District," and equipped with a makeshift arrangement consisting of awkward executive and judicial machinery accompanied by the unrealistic Oregon code. Even the flood of population coming with the gold rush at the turn of the century did not induce Congress to correct the situation. A territorial delegate was granted in 1905, and full territorial status with a legislature was provided in 1912. Because of numerous restrictions, however, Alaska has been denied the local autonomy enjoyed by most of our other frontier communities. Since 1943 Alaskans have requested statehood, which alone promises a solution of their dilemma.

Earlier generations of pioneers were encouraged by generous land and mineral laws, but not so the Alaskans. Not only were such measures not extended to them but on occasion they were specifically excluded from federal beneficences. At times, the failure to provide surveys or necessary appropriations deprived the territory of subventions to which it otherwise was entitled by law. Whereas under the guise of conservation, resources were merely locked up, in the case of the fishing industry, controlled by outsiders, all efforts to preserve salmon through regulation of fish traps were frustrated. Military authorities refused to recognize Alaska's strategic position until World War II struck with full force in the Pacific. Since the cessation of hostilities, there have been extensive defense installations but no program for adequate communications. Daring and resourceful local pilots tried to solve the transportation problems, but bureaucratic restrictions have spelled virtual defeat.

This is a good, definitive history, but not in the sense of a general account, since social and economic developments are related almost exclusively in terms of their political implications. The mountain of evidence, which would dwarf a "Brandeis brief," is presented in candid language seldom cushioned by understatement. Although the book may read like a bill of indictment, it is not muckraking, since the persons named are neither smeared nor judged. In spite of the

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strong political emphasis, this work is unsurpassed as a local history providing due coverage of recent developments.

State College of Washington HERMAN J. DEUTSCH

THE RISE AND FALL OF MAYA CIVILIZATION. By *J. Eric S. Thompson.* [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xii, 287. $5.00.)

THIS seems to me the one best book about the ancient Maya. The reader receives from the author results of a lifetime devoted to the topic of the book. There is much on archaeological discoveries and inferences; on the possible origins and probable history of these remarkable American Indians; about their technology, architecture, and their daily life; concerning their religion and cosmology, and their calendrical and astronomical knowledge. The account of Maya conceptions of time is particularly good. There is even an attempt to describe the group-personality or "temperament" the Maya had a thousand years ago; and in the last chapter the author accounts for the Maya civilization as the result (not the cause) of Maya devoutness, moderation, and discipline. More topics relative to the ancient Maya are treated here, with knowledge, than are treated in any other book I know. Very few that might be expected are missing. (I find very little on ancient Maya kinship and social organization. The problem of correlating the Maya and the Christian calendars is not discussed at any length, and if Carbon-14 dating is mentioned, I have missed it.)

Like the ancient Greeks, the Maya tend to make those who study them into warm-hearted loyalists. Eric Thompson writes with love of and for the subject. The treatment is detailed, concrete, and in many respects quite personal. What Thompson has seen, what he argues for or ventures to guess, and what he likes about the Maya, appear on many pages. I for one am glad for this, although some will not welcome the embellishments from English poetry, the occasional asides as to our own contemporary life, and the lightly considered parallels seen with the history of England. A chapter is devoted to five vignettes of ancient Maya life: constructed episodes bringing history close in fictionalized form.

Where the author dissents from a general view, he labels his opinion a dissent. Thus, he thinks that the first Asiatic immigrants to America brought with them knowledge of pottery-making, spinning, weaving, and agriculture (without seeds). Most think these arts were re-invented here. Thompson has a new and interesting explanation for the abandonment of the sacred "cities" of the Peten: a series of peasant revolts against a theocratic elite (p. 87). The evidence is not strong. There are valuable arguments pro and con as to whether the priestly elite of the ancient lowland shrine-cities maintained some kind of unity on calendrical matters through discussion and decision (pp. 80 ff.).

The photographs and drawings are well chosen. The index is no better than

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usual. Occasional unnecessary repetitions mar a lively and indeed fascinating text.

University of Chicago ROBERT REDFIELD

LES TROIS AGES DU BRÉSIL: ESSAI DE POLITIQUE. By *Charles Morazé,* Professeur à l'Institut d'Etudes politiques de l'Université de Paris. [Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, no. 51.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1954. Pp. 198.)

M. MORAZÉ, to my mind, has written the best analysis of Brazilian political history since the appearance of Nunez Leal's *Coronelismo, enxada e voto* (on which he draws to good effect). Furthermore, he has carried the story down to 1953. He approaches the problem from the French point of view of *la politique,* a rather different matter from what in the United States is called political science. In order to make Brazil make sense to French readers, he has drawn a few comparisons and many more differentiations between the history of France since about 1800 and that of Brazil. I think that this is an advantage for readers in the United States. It means that we have to stop and think and see what his analogies and contrasts mean. Usually, when some relation between Brazilian and United States history is suggested, we are inclined to be flattered into complacency because we assume that Brazil, a region of the Western Hemisphere, must have much the same vocabulary of ideas as ourselves. The fact may be quite different. Brazil is not French. Neither is it to be explained in United States terms.

During his tour as visiting professor in the faculty of philosophy, sciences, and letters of the University of São Paulo, M. Morazé watched the complex and confusing pattern of present-day Brazilian politics. How was it to be explained? He was most interested in *la politique* but in his introduction he pledges himself to a historical interpretation. His answer is in three parts. One is in what he calls the roots of local power and central power. Here he dwells on the size of Brazil and the effect that sheer immensity has had on the slowness of the expansion of ideas and institutions and political control. He takes the empire apart to see what the result was of Dom Pedro II and the *poder moderador* and that of the *fazendeiros* and their effective local political coercion. Incidentally, it would be healthy for some United States professors of Latin-American history to see how he handles positivism. His second part is the conflict that he sees between rural and urban societies. Here he develops fully what he means by *coronelismo* (is "bossism" as close as we can come in English?) and military positivism and the Estado Novo. I like his treatment of Getúlio, partly as a person acting individually and partly as someone borne along by the stream of history, though I think he might have taken more into account the excesses of Getúlio's private police after 1937. To these themes, he then adds his third part, or the emancipation of the people and of the cities, i.e., the period between 1949 and 1953, when the rise of urbanism and the city vote had at last begun to make inroads on

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classical rural *coronelismo*. His tracing of the structure and action of the present parties is in itself a contribution and is all the more enlightening because it is related to the main lines of development already laid down.

Vanderbilt University ALEXANDER MARCHANT

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH WEST INDIES. By Sir *Alan Burns*. (London: George Allan and Unwin; New York: Macmillan Company. 1954. Pp. 821. $12.00.)

MOST studies of Britain's tropical American sugar bowls have been made by professors who have labored conscientiously in traditional research centers but who are total strangers to the area. Their sturdy monographs consequently lack both local color and the deft intimate touch. Sir Alan, by contrast, is West Indian born and, during the course of a distinguished career as a colonial administrator, has held posts in three Caribbean dependencies, including the governorship of British Honduras, and has visited all of them. His earlier *Colonial Civil Servant, Colour Prejudice,* and *History of Nigeria* have already won him scholarly repute. Informed readers will, therefore, approach his latest production with high expectations. These will be largely realized, for author and subject are ideally suited to each other and the result is a noteworthy addition to the literature of European expansion.

Emphasis is, of course, placed upon territories today under the Union Jack. The *History* nonetheless embraces the West Indian islands as a whole since many now British were previously in foreign possession and economic, social, and political developments in all of them were closely interwoven. Now, for the first time, the Caribbean community is treated as a unit, thus affording perspective and avoiding the absurd distortions which arise from viewing each dependency as a separate entity rather than as a small part of a large whole. The West Indian viewpoint, so widely ignored when the story is told by outsiders, is everywhere present and is thoroughly refreshing.

Consideration of the geographic and racial setting is followed by a rapidly moving account of European exploration and an appreciative summary (almost unique in British works) of Spanish colonizing activities. No attempt is made to glorify early English interlopers in what was essentially a Spanish preserve, and frank recognition is accorded the fact that it was the French rather than the English who, during the first six decades of the sixteenth century, challenged Spain's monopoly. The significant role of the Dutch in undermining Iberian position, another fact of life commonly minimized by British authors, is freely discussed with calm detachment.

Sir Alan demonstrates that, generally speaking, events in the islands mirrored the course of affairs in Europe and that, in reality, the islands long had no history of their own. For Britain, the period 1739–1763 was one of triumph in the Caribbean and the two decades 1764–1784 were an era of almost unbroken

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disaster. Later years were little better. The opening of new sugar producing areas within each of the several European empires coupled with abolition and emancipation brought ruin to group after group of Caribbean possessions and, by 1850, all save Spain's had fallen into decay.

The basic reconstruction of life in the islands as a whole since the advent of free labor is sketched in somewhat summary fashion, while twentieth-century affairs are presented in uncritical chronological form—the one serious defect in an otherwise admirable work.

The *History* is based largely upon source material and is well-documented throughout. It contains thirty maps and a dozen appendixes. The bibliography is not annotated and the presence of two indexes will prove confusing. The book will, however, well repay careful perusal. Let no serious reader be deterred by its bulk and its three-pound weight!

Ohio State University LOWELL RAGATZ

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* * * Other Recent Publications * * *

General History

CHRISTIANITY AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION. Being the Raymond Fred West Memorial Lectures at Stanford University, April 5–7, 1954. By *Carlton J. H. Hayes,* Seth Low Professor Emeritus of History in Columbia University. (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1954, pp. vii, 63, $2.50.)

MODERN CHRISTIAN MOVEMENTS. By *John T. McNeill.* (Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1954, pp. 197, $3.50.) These two little books, each by a mature scholar distinguished in the field with which he is dealing, were delivered on university lectureships and are on related subjects. Professor Hayes develops the thesis that certain outstanding features of Western civilization are due to Judaeo-Graeco-Christianity, Catholic and Protestant. Those which he has selected are the emphasis of the West on individuality and liberty, the West's chronic repugnance to unlimited authority and its preference for plural and constitutional government, and the West's progressive character, coupled with a broadening application of its ideal of compassion. In the progressive character of the West he would include the dynamism which has spread Western civilization over the globe and has led to revolutions in the cultures of mankind, those of both Western and non-Western peoples. For his thesis, ignored by many historians, Professor Hayes makes a good case. It is all the more convincing because of the temperate manner with which it is put forward and the masterly array of factual information with which it is supported. A question at which the author hints but with which he does not deal and which is of major importance is why these features are in Western and not in Eastern Christendom. In both regions the Judaeo-Graeco-Christian heritage was present. Is the clue to be found in the tighter control of the church by the state which was part of the Byzantine tradition? Professor McNeill deals in brief compass with English Puritanism, German Pietism, the Evangelical Movement, Tractarianism and Anglo-Catholicism, the Ecumenical Movement "in historical perspective," and modern Roman Catholicism. In most of these areas he has already written and is a recognized expert. Here and there he brings in fresh material. However, and quite rightly, he is content to put into readable form what is already familiar to specialists. He points out that the first three movements displayed striking likenesses and influenced one another. He confines his treatment of Tractarianism and Anglo-Catholicism chiefly to the Oxford Movement. He makes wise remarks on modern Roman Catholicism, but on the whole the chapter with that heading is the least satisfactory one in the book. The word "modern" in the title really means post-Reformation and not "contemporary." As will be seen from the topics treated and as he clearly points out in his preface, Professor McNeill is seeking to provide background for an understanding of the churches in which the majority of the Christians of western Europe and America have membership. In this he is very successful.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, *Yale University*

WIRTSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE DER NEUZEIT VOM ENDE DES 14. BIS ZUR HÖHE DES 19. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Hans Hausherr.* (Weimar, Hermann Böhlau, 1954, pp. xv, 543, DM 18.50.) The author of this book undertakes another one-volume synthesis of "the economic history of modern times." The con-

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tent of the book and the bibliography, more extensive than we are accustomed to in our one-volume surveys, indicate a wide and intelligent acquaintance with the literature. Not unnaturally, the lists for German history are especially valuable, but even more important are the indications of intelligent use of Polish and Russian literature. Not unnaturally too, there are surprising omissions, such as Marc Bloch's works, Usher's *Early History of Banking,* Van Dillen's *History of the Principal Public Banks,* Nef's *Rise of the British Coal Industry,* Harsin's *Works of John Law,* Usher's *Grain Trade in France,* Scelle's *La traité négrière,* and many others. As synthesis, the book has some interesting features, notably the linkage of the precious metal supply of western Europe in the fifteenth century with the American discoveries. A very considerable part of the work is devoted to successive ideologies, but the capital thinkers are separately linked with their several national stories, Marx with the English industrial revolution, and List, quite validly, with German industrialization, while the Physiocrats and Adam Smith have a chapter to themselves. A very solid chapter discusses the economy of the early European cities, but urbanism as a fact of later Europe is ignored. Hausherr's Europe is of uncertain limits, sometimes western Europe, sometimes including its extension overseas. Labor in the mercantilist period is made much of, labor in the nineteenth century, little—but the abolition of slavery in America and of serfdom in Russia each take a chapter. Professor Hausherr chooses to end his account about 1870. It is possible to sympathize with his disposition to "limit himself to the representation of the past," but it is rather frustrating to end the story at the beginning of so much fulfillment. On the whole, the book is disappointing as a synthesis, but valuable for some particular parts. F. L. Nussbaum, *University of Wyoming*

ESQUISSE D'UNE HISTOIRE MONÉTAIRE DE L'EUROPE. By *Marc Bloch.* [Cahiers des Annales, No. 9.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1954, pp. 96.) Marc Bloch's literary executors, Lucien Febvre and Fernand Braudel, explain by way of apology that this work is put together from manuscripts and notes of classroom lectures. It retains much of the spirit of its original purpose, with an informality of presentation and the frequent use of concrete examples. Moreover, like many general courses, it reflects the special interests of the lecturer: although it purports to be a monetary history for the whole of Europe, the greater part of the text deals with the medieval period and most of the examples pertain to France. This bias of the book is at once a strength and a weakness. It holds little of interest for students of the modern period in their own field, but medievalists and those interested in the origins of modern monetary systems will find much to instruct them. Although incomplete in outline and imperfect in detail, it is the only work of its kind currently in existence. Under the circumstances, its publication requires no apology.
Rondo E. Cameron, *University of Wisconsin*

THE HISTORY AND CONQUEST OF COMMON DISEASES. Edited by *Walter R. Bett.* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, pp. ix, 334, $4.00.) This book contains essays on the following diseases: acute communicable diseases (that is, diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, German measles, smallpox, chickenpox, mumps, and whooping cough), by George Rosen; influenza, by C. H. Stuart-Harris; pneumonia, by E. M. Brockbank; tuberculosis, by Lewis J. Moorman; rheumatism, by W. S. C. Copeman; arthritis, by Edward F. Hartung; heart disease, by Terence East; Bright's disease, by Ralph H. Major; tonsils and adenoids, by R. Scott Stevenson; the venereal diseases, by Douglas J. Campbell; rickets, by A. White Franklin; diseases of the endocrine glands, by A. P. Cawadias; gallstones, by Donald C. Bal-

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four; appendicitis, by Walter R. Bett; epilepsy, by William G. Lennox; cancer, by Harold Burrows; malingering, by Edward L. Murphy. Twelve of the authors reside in Great Britain, five in the U. S. Though not all equally excellent, the essays are all scholarly, accurate, up to date, and well written. Prospective readers should be informed that with two exceptions (Rosen and Stuart-Harris, who combine both approaches) these doctors have not written the history of these diseases, that is, their successive occurrence in time and space. They have predominantly described the history of our knowledge and our treatment of these diseases. The difference is obvious. While the former data are those most important for the general historian, the latter are more relevant for the physician and the medical historian. I also disagree with the editor that this book is a book "mainly for patients." Most of the essays are written in such concentrated and technical language that they are no easy reading even for the medically trained consumer. Within these limitations this is a good book filling an often regretted gap in our literature. I enjoyed particularly the excursions on therapeutics, a field of medical history as badly neglected as it is important. ERWIN H. ACKERKNECHT, *University of Wisconsin*

THE HISTORICAL THOUGHT OF FUSTEL DE COULANGES. By *Jane Herrick*. (Washington, D. C., Catholic University of America Press, 1954, pp. vi, 144, $1.75.) This study was done under the able direction of Friedrich Engel-Janosi, who has long been concerned with problems of historicism and historiography. It describes Fustel's ideas on the nature of history, historical method, and his own practice against the background of his theories. Fustel was a prime example of the nineteenth-century attempt to link history closely with natural science in methodology. He is a melancholy reminder to historians who decry the naive scientism of the newer social "sciences" that historians responded first to the siren call. Within its rather closely defined limits, this is a thoughtful and lucidly presented analysis.
LEWIS W. SPITZ, *University of Missouri*

LOUIS XIV, WILLIAM III, AND THE BALTIC CRISIS OF 1683. By *Andrew Lossky*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume XLIX.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1954, pp. xi, 73, $1.00.) Most students dealing with the crisis of 1683 concentrate their attention upon the problems of the Danube and the Rhine river valleys where the Turkish invasion and the Franco-Spanish war seemed to represent a two-pronged assault upon the lands of the Habsburgs in central Europe. While not ignoring these problems, Dr. Lossky points out in this little study that there were also political problems in the Baltic, quite unrelated to those in central Europe, that came near to starting a general war. In part this Baltic crisis seems to have been the result of the unending negotiations that were characteristic of the late seventeenth century, in part it emerged clearly from the underlying relationships between Sweden and her Baltic neighbors. In the course of the story, the navies of the three western powers (France, England, and the United Provinces) were all more or less involved. One easily assumes that the Sweden of Charles XI was almost entirely occupied with internal reorganization at this period, but this study clearly indicates how important and to what extent foreign affairs demanded attention. Dr. Lossky's monograph is obviously a part of a study undertaken as a doctoral dissertation and probably should be judged in its larger context. However, until the rest of the study has been published, this part testifies to the author's scholarship and energy as well as to his skill as a writer. Within the frame of reference that he has established, this is an excellent study.
JOHN B. WOLF, *University of Minnesota*

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L'ALLIANCE RUSSO-TURQUE AU MILIEU DES GUERRES NAPOLÉONIENNES. By *Boris Mouravieff*. Preface by *Carl J. Burckhardt*. [L'évolution du monde et des idées.] (Neuchâtel, Switz., Baconnière, 1954, pp. 424.) Politics makes strange bedfellows. Between the Seven Years' War and the French Revolution Russia twice waged war against Turkey. But when, in 1798, the French Republic seized Egypt, a Turkish province, the indignant Porte did not hesitate to make an alliance with its old enemy and despoiler to the north. In this monograph, the author, formerly an officer in the Imperial Russian Navy, traces largely from printed sources the vicissitudes of the Russo-Turkish alliance from its inception in 1799 to its collapse following the accord of Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit; three additional chapters carry the story to the general settlement of 1815. He looks with favor upon the alliance because it gave the Russian fleet access to the Mediterranean. While Bonaparte was marooned in Egypt, Admiral Ouchakov organized the Ionian Islands into the Republic of the Seven United Islands (strange paradox!) under the protection of the Autocrat of all the Russias. But other experiences of the Russians in the Mediterranean were not so happy. In the hope of obtaining Malta—he had been elected Grand Master of the Knights of Malta—Tsar Paul was succumbing to the blandishments of Bonaparte when he was assassinated. His successor, Alexander, threw in his lot with France's enemies, then with France (after Friedland), then again with France's enemies. Mouravieff takes him severely to task for playing the role of a petty German prince rather than exerting himself to maintain and advance the cause of Russia. In fact Alexander does nothing right in this book. In the end he is held responsible for losing to Great Britain the Ionian Islands, Russia's toehold in the Mediterranean. Trained historians are likely to find as much fault with Mouravieff as he finds with Alexander. Above all, he rides his thesis too hard. There is no certainty that a different ruler could have maintained Russia's new position in the Mediterranean. Yet the book compels attention. It should be read with Puryear's *Napoleon and the Dardanelles* (1951), which Mouravieff does not mention. CARL L. LOKKE, *National Archives*

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1938. Volume III. By *R. G. D. Laffan*, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and Others. Edited by *Veronica M. Toynbee*. [Issued under the Auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. xiv, 622, $8.80.) This book completes the 1938 *Survey of International Affairs*, the first two volumes of which appeared in 1941 and 1951. Its materials are divided into five parts. G. D. Laffan and V. M. Toynbee deal with the crisis over Czechoslovakia between Munich and March, 1939; Mrs. Toynbee surveys the inter-relations of Germany, Poland, and Lithuania; F. Ashton Gwatkin discusses the U.S.S.R.; George Kirk and Mrs. Toynbee consider the Balkan states; and Viscount Chilston assesses the rearmament of Great Britain, France, and Germany. Whatever unity the volume possesses comes from the fact that its materials relate roughly to the period between September, 1938, and March, 1939, although the essay on rearmament begins in 1933 and comes down only to Munich, while the section on the Soviet Union confines itself rigidly to the calendar year 1938 and that on northeastern Europe goes back to 1937 in its account of Polish-Lithuanian and German-Lithuanian relations. This would be a cavil, except that it illustrates the fact that this volume is a catch-all designed to pick up the various loose strings left dangling between its predecessors and the new series introduced by *The World in 1939*. In the light of its purpose, most readers will be tolerant of the organization of this volume. They are less likely to be tolerant of its balance. The most striking example is in the section on the

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U.S.S.R., which is quantitatively the shortest (and qualitatively the poorest) in the volume. It consists of twenty-five pages, almost half of them devoted to a superficial account of the "internal situation" (mainly the purges), sandwiched in between some 102 pages on northeastern Europe and forty-three pages on the Balkan states. If Mr. Ashton Gwatkin's treatment were as incisive as it is brief, this might be of little import; as it is, the volume fails seriously in covering one of the most vital elements in the international relations of its period. This wry note of criticism needs to be tempered by the observation that there are other sections which maintain the high standards of these volumes. Of these, the account of the long death agony of Czechoslovakia is perhaps the most satisfactory, and the analysis of German, French, and British rearmament the most interesting. Mr. Laffan and Mrs. Toynbee (as indeed do the other authors) make full use in the first section of the materials in the *Documents on British Foreign Policy* and the *Documents on German Foreign Policy,* so that we have a much more revealing picture of German policy in particular than was possible in earlier volumes of the series. Viscount Chilston's analysis of military strength is especially effective in its consideration of Anglo-French weakness in air defense as a factor in the Munich decision and in its demonstration of the rise to supremacy of German air power. Perhaps the one weakness of this section is its unsatisfactory treatment of the comparative naval strengths of the three powers, which is in rather painful contrast to a much more substantial survey of land armies. Taken as a whole, this is probably not one of the most successful of the Royal Institute *Surveys,* but as a compilation of data it will take its proper place alongside its redbound companions on the reference shelves. HENRY R. WINKLER, *Rutgers University*

GERMANY AND THE SOVIET UNION, 1939–1941. By *Gerhard L. Weinberg.* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1954, pp. v. 218, 19 guilders.) This careful, chronological survey of German-Soviet relations is devoted essentially to the era of Nazi-Soviet collaboration based on the Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, although the monograph actually begins with the "Munich Agreement" of September, 1938. Following an examination of the backgrounds of the Non-Aggression Pact of August 23, 1939, and its modification on September 28, Mr. Weinberg plunges into the story of German-Soviet collaboration during the era before the Nazi aggression against the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. The author provides a very well documented account of the "peace offensive" in 1939–1940, economic and naval co-operation between Germany and the Soviet Union, and German and Soviet expansion into eastern and southeastern Europe. There is also a brief account of the Hitler-Molotov-Ribbentrop conversation of November 12–13, 1940, and of the Molotov memorandum of November 25 concerning possible Soviet entry into the Axis, to which there never was a German response, and a more detailed delineation of the Soviet attempt at downright appeasement of Nazi Germany, especially after January, 1941, which ended in disaster to Stalin's policy when the Germans attacked in June. As Mr. Weinberg points out, in the hope of avoiding attack, the Soviet Union "turned to a policy of concessions" to Germany. During the few months prior to June, 1941, Soviet policy exhibited an inflexibility "which did not serve Russian interests even if judged exclusively by the standards of Russia's own diplomacy" (p. 172). The central theme, perhaps, is that the decisive change in Soviet-German relations took place in July, 1940, when Hitler made his irrevocable decision to attack the Soviet Union, both as an answer to the British challenge in the West and because of his inability to win a quick victory over Great Britain. In contrast to some earlier studies of Nazi-Soviet relations, the author holds that Nazi-Soviet dif-

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ferences with regard to eastern and southeastern Europe, the Danube and the Turkish Straits were the result, not the cause, of the German decision to attack. This is a well-substantiated and quite plausible thesis, even if not entirely new. But it does not rule out the fact that failure to resolve the conflict over this area of vital interest in eastern and southeastern Europe confirmed the German decision. The author has utilized not only the pertinent published materials, but a vast amount of unpublished documentary evidence as well, primarily from German and Western sources. His work concludes with an excellent bibliography.

HARRY N. HOWARD, *Arlington, Virginia*

TRAGÉDIE DE LA DÉPORTATION, 1940–1945: TÉMOIGNAGES DE SURVIVANTS DES CAMPS DE CONCENTRATION ALLEMANDS. Choisis et présentés par *Olga Wormser* et *Henri Michel.* (Paris, Hachette, 1954, pp. 511, 1000 fr.)

LETTERE DI CONDANNATI A MORTE DELLA RESISTENZA EUROPEA. Edited by *Piero Malvezzi* and *Giovanni Pirelli.* Preface by *Thomas Mann.* [Saggi, No. 178.] (Turin, Giulio Einaudi, 1954, pp. xxxii, 703, L. 2000.)

LETTERE DI CONDANNATI A MORTE DELLA RESISTENZA ITALIANA (8 SETTEMBRE 1943–25 APRILE 1945). Edited by *Piero Malvezzi* and *Giovanni Pirelli.* Preface by *Enzo Enriques Agnoletti.* [Saggi, No. 150.] (3d ed.; Turin, Giulio Einaudi, 1952, pp. 315, L. 1000.) The first of these works is another important contribution to the history of the Resistance period in France, with which the name of Henri Michel has been so closely connected. The Commission d'histoire de la déportation has long been gathering materials for a scientific and objective work on deportation and the concentration camps. The present book is something else again: an extended selection of quotations from published works and from other statements of French participants, grouped in a "chronological" sequence of chapters: "Convoys," "Arrival at Camp," "Daily Life," "Camp Labor," "Social Categories," "Spiritual Life," "Hospitals," "Death," and the final "Evacuation of the Camps." Important biographical and explanatory notes accompany the documents, which give us a broad tableau of the life of the camps and of their inmates from many nations. This book is impressive precisely because it brings together independent witnesses speaking on the same subject. We are led with deepening conviction through this Kafka-esque nightmare and witness again totalitarianism's terrible assault on human dignity and its attempt to subvert the autonomy of human personality to its power-driven ends. Almost as terrifying as the suffering of the victims is the conversion to sadism of the camp administration, including, *inter alia,* political prisoners, purchasing a milder fate at the price of self-brutalization. Ironically, this book appears in French at a juncture when the French scarcely need to have their fears of Germany enhanced, and when a German translation could usefully remind free Germany of the perils of their recent history. The second work under review includes letters from the Resistants of sixteen different nations, written after their condemnation or when they had a presentiment of early execution. They come from both published and unpublished sources, checked in many cases against the originals or photostatic copies. A chronology of leading events and an important note on Resistance sources precede the section devoted to each country, and a brief biographical note introduces the letters from each individual. Thomas Mann's introduction paints in the ethos of these poignant human documents: the courage and pride of men who have refused in torture to betray their comrades, the recurrent concern for the grief they have caused their families, the conviction of the rightness of their cause and the belief in a better world to follow the war, serenity in the face of death and a mystic belief in the after-life (often shared even by the agnos-

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tics). Important as these letters are as testimony to the unbreakable nature of the human spirit, their very repetitive character (and this is a most striking aspect) inevitably limits their historical usefulness. The third work under review is a parallel series of letters drawn from the Italian Resistance alone and prepared under the same editorship. They are introduced by Enzo Agnoletti, the well-known political editor of *Il Ponte,* who points out that the Italian Resistance involved an important difference from similar movements in other parts of Europe. Elsewhere the reaction was predominantly patriotic and in response to the invasion of a hated enemy; in Italy the deepest and most basic element was resistance to fascism and concern with the building of a new world—and the German enemy was just one more fascist. The tremendous difficulty in smuggling out a final message in the hours before death is emphasized again by the fact that only about 140 letters were recovered from a total of perhaps 80,000 lost in the Resistance. Brief biographical notes accompany all the letters except those written by "unknown" Resistants.

DONALD C. MCKAY, *Harvard University*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton[1]

APOKRIMATA: DECISIONS OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS ON LEGAL MATTERS. Text, Translation, and Historical Analysis by *William Linn Westermann.* Legal Commentary by *A. Arthur Schiller.* [Columbia Bicentennial Editions and Studies.]

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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(New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. x, 111, $5.00.) The document to which this volume is devoted is a Greek papyrus in the Columbia University collection (P. Columbia 123) which contains transcripts of thirteen judicial decisions made by the emperor Septimius Severus during his visit to Egypt in the years A.D. 199–200. The provenance of the papyrus itself is unknown but the decisions contained in it, which took the form of rescripts (*subscriptiones*) addressed to private petitioners, were posted in the Stoa of the Gymnasium in Alexandria. Other similar transcripts of judicial decisions made by Severus exist (and a convenient list of them is given on pp. 27–30), but the Columbia text makes a notable addition to the group both because of its textual completeness and the variety of cases which it contains. The excellent facsimile of the papyrus which accompanies the transcription of the text permits a few corrections to be made in the latter. In 1. 15, the double bracket [[σου]] should be omitted since the word was corrected to σε and not erased; the σι which appears between 11. 16 and 17 should be placed close to and above the κελευ of 1. 17 and not made an appendage to 1. 16; not parentheses, which indicate the solution of an abbreviation, but commas should mark off the clause και. . . . λεγωνται of 11. 29–30; and the και αἱ of 1. 29 seems very dubious. The task of interpreting the judgments in the light of Roman and provincial law is made difficult by the copyist's omission of the petitions decided by the *apokrimata,* but Professor Schiller's excellent commentary has, in addition to providing an illuminating discussion of the general character of such decisions, gone as far as seems possible in reconstructing the cases at issue and providing the legal background for the legal principles applied. There are a few places where his translations differ from those of the editor. P. 9 has "Women are not forbidden to obligate themselves for loans or to exact payment in behalf of others," p. 63: "Women are not forbidden to borrow money and to pay on behalf of others"; p. 9: "it is not just that heirs written in wills—the wills themselves may even be said to have given rise (to them as heirs)," p. 74: "it is not right if the testament is said to be perfect that heirs written [in the will]"; p. 9: "if, indeed, the affair is of the type of case requiring a special judge," p. 74: "if the matter is in the order of inquisitory trials"; p. 10: "Those who are physically sick are subject to liturgical services if they are mentally capable of conducting their household affairs," p. 79: "if they are able to undertake the care of their own affairs," without any stress on mental fitness. In all these cases the reviewer favors the second over the first version. Since the subscripts were drafted in Latin and then translated into Greek, one may suggest that οἰκειος ἡμων of 1. 48 may be the Greek version of *comes noster*. Professor Schiller's view that the transcripts constituted "a memorandum prepared by a notary for his own use" seems the most reasonable explanation of their origin. This publication suggests that a detailed investigation of the effect of an emperor's presence upon the government of a province would be highly desirable. A. E. R. Boak, *University of Michigan*

DAS WIRTSCHAFTLICHE GESICHT GRIECHENLANDS IN DER KAISERZEIT: KLEINSTADT, VILLA UND DOMÄNE. By *Ulrich Kahrstedt.* [Dissertationes Bernenses: Historiam orbis antiqui nascentisque medii aevi elucubrantes, Ser. I, fasc. 7.] (Bern, A. Francke, 1954, pp. 295, cloth 28.50, paper 24.50 S. fr.) The Greece whose rural economic structure Kahrstedt seeks to reconstruct is the Greece of Pausanias' guidebook, written in the second century A.D. at the height of the empire's prosperity. Only those areas, central Greece and the Peloponnesus, described by Pausanias are discussed and the material is arranged as a commentary rather than a synthesis. A treatment of the big cities, like Corinth and Athens, is not a part of the plan although the statistical index of grave inscriptions is used to arrive at a conclusion about Athens' population and the published coins and lamps of Corinth are noticed.

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Kahrstedt's primary concern, however, is with the small towns and the rural economy. In general, he draws a rather darker picture of the dissolution of the towns, the destruction of the urban bourgeoisie, and the growth of large estates than does Larsen (*Economic Survey of Ancient Rome,* IV, 436–92). The evidence utilized is appropriate, mainly archaeological and epigraphical, particularly the grave inscriptions, to supplement and correct the tendentious literary sources, but Kahrstedt is often arbitrary and his conclusions exaggerated, for the archaeological material needs as careful handling as does the literary. Pausanias, despite his detail, is an unsatisfactory source. His view of Greece may be colored by a latent comparison with his own more prosperous Asia Minor and is certainly affected by a nostalgic interest in the past. Thus, it seems dangerous to treat his material statistically or to emphasize his failure to mention a town when a sanctuary was close at hand (p. 223). It is probable that a ruined temple would catch his attention when an up-to-date civic building would not. Kahrstedt's search for villas is too relentless when it starts with the assertion that the notices of almost every "bath" discovered by modern topographers are mistaken: the remains are really those of villas (p. 14, n.4). The topographers at least had seen the remains. Many may well be villas, but the answer lies in excavation, which would also reveal something of their building history. The use of grave inscriptions as a statistical index for relative populations between the Greek and Roman periods is valuable and interesting but may be deceptive as is the use of any other single body of evidence for this period. Its results should be treated with great caution when they lead to such conclusions as that the population of Athens was much greater in imperial times than in Greek (cf. Day, *Economic History of Athens,* pp. 271–79). The chief value of the book is in the challenge of the author's assertions and its collection of the pertinent archaeological material for the separate regions of Greece—it was a lengthy and difficult task in the conditions of scholarship in Germany from 1939 to the present. Yet Kahrstedt's arbitrary use of the evidence and unfounded conclusions impose a cautious use.

CARL ROEBUCK, *Northwestern University*

CONSILIUM PRINCIPIS: IMPERIAL COUNCILS AND COUNSELLORS FROM AUGUSTUS TO DIOCLETIAN. By *John Crook,* Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1955, pp. xii, 198, $5.00.) The so-called *consilium principis* has not been thoroughly studied since Cuq's *Mémoire* (1884) and Cicogna's *Ricerche* (1902). Mr. Crook ably re-examines this most important aspect of the imperial government from Augustus to Constantine. Magistrates and private individuals during the Roman Republic relied heavily on the advice of friends and experts, so that the use of a group of advisers became a regular feature of public and private life. But such groups were constituted informally from among friends or staff officers. Augustus and his successors did the same, and Mr. Crook properly differentiates this practice from the senatorial committees which Augustus established to facilitate his relations with the whole senate and which Tiberius unwisely abandoned. He well emphasizes the connection between the formal use of the term *amicus* or *comes principis* and the advisory system. That the system was informal is shown by the fact that the common modern phrase *consilium principis* was not used by the Romans to indicate a permanent advisory committee. Individual "friends" were called in to advise, *adsumptus in consilium* on various occasions or for particular types of problems, military, administrative, or judicial. Only during the second century did a more formal arrangement begin to appear with the salaried appointment to "staff" posts on the council of specialists of lower social rank than the senators and high equestrian officials who still served as principal advisers. In tracing this development, Mr. Crook plays down the roles of the individual em-

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perors, notably Hadrian, in favor of gradual change. This system continued through the reign of the conservative Diocletian. But Constantine the innovator changed the advisory council of friends, including perhaps some department heads, into the cabinet, or *consistorium,* in which the bureau chiefs constituted the bulk of members. Thus he combined what had previously been distinct, the making of policy and administration. Two concluding chapters treat the organization of the advisory system and the way in which advisers, holding over from reign to reign, provided continuity of policy and mitigated the impact on the government of the personalities of new emperors. There are four appendixes on points of detail and an alphabetical index of persons known to have served as advisers, friends, or companions and of persons whose official duties or eminence or closeness to the emperors make it likely that they served as advisers. Students of Roman history will be grateful for this thorough, useful, readable, and timely study of an often neglected topic.

MASON HAMMOND, *Harvard University*

A HISTORY OF ROMAN SEA-POWER BEFORE THE SECOND PUNIC WAR. By *J. H. Thiel,* Professor of Ancient History in the University of Utrecht. (Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1954, pp. viii, 367, $7.00.) In this book Professor Thiel is concerned with Roman naval history from its ascertainable beginnings in the fourth century B.C. to the eve of the Second Punic War. The treatment of the subject is divided into three parts. There is an initial chapter of about sixty pages devoted mainly to Roman naval organization before the First Punic War. This is followed by a very long chapter (pp. 61–338) entitled "Naval Warfare in the First Punic War," and chapter III deals briefly with the years 241–218 B.C. Professor Thiel has omitted from his book little or nothing relating to the history of Roman sea power prior to 218. One suspects that a number of his opinions, theories, and conclusions will not be universally accepted, but on the whole what he has done is extremely valuable and important. It will be of general interest that he has found what appears to be *the* solution to the problem of the *corvus.* This is presented with clarity and documented with photographs of a model of the device (shown opposite p. 112). Less spectacular, though more significant, is his reconstruction of early Roman naval organization. In addition, he has brought into sharper focus the importance of naval operations in the conduct of the First Punic War. As in the case of his earlier *Studies,* concerned with Roman sea power in the years 218–167 B.C., Professor Thiel has chosen to write in his irrepressible English rather than in what he calls his "irreproachable Dutch." For this we may be thankful: not only will his useful work be accessible to a larger number of readers but also his vigorous English counterbalances his tendency toward almost unbearable repetition. In this study Professor Thiel has resolved to confine himself to naval history. On numerous occasions he conquers the temptation to discuss land warfare, but he is also a man of strong convictions and when he comes to the First Punic War he cannot resist a polemic on its causes and the problem of Roman war-guilt. As he himself says, he lives with intensity in the remote past, and one is inclined to agree with him that this is not really a serious fault. In fact, a passion for the past is a virtue when it can produce a book as good as this one.

TOM B. JONES, *University of Minnesota*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm[1]

AMALARIUS OF METZ. By *Allen Cabaniss*. (Amsterdam, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1954, pp. xii, 115, $2.00.) The present study of Amalarius *ca.* 775–850, succeeds some studies of Agobard of Lyons, and (according to the introduction), precedes more monographs to deal with "other contemporaries of Abogard." In slightly more than a hundred pages divided into nine chapters, Dr. Cabaniss relates the career, ecclesiastical and literary, of the greatest Carolingian liturgist whose work was the object of many polemics and a formal, synodal condemnation. The biographer based his study on the barren, external sources, and on the meager, internal evidence afforded in the voluminous liturgical works so excellently edited by J. M. Hanssens, S.J. Withal, the result is disappointing because the work is neither a monograph providing us with a solid critique of the sources, the problems (e.g., one Amalarius or two?), and the literature, nor is it a simple accurate sketch of a popular biography for general or undergraduate reading. Nowhere is the relationship between Amalarius and the Carolingian liturgical reform movement tackled, nor does Professor Cabaniss essay to instruct the reader on the place of Amalarius in the history of liturgy. The absence of Edmund Bishop's name from a work dealing with Carolingian liturgy ought to be remarked. The book is another example of good, inexpensive Dutch printing. SCHAFER WILLIAMS, *Cheverly, Maryland*

JOSCELYN I, PRINCE OF EDESSA. By *Robert Lawrence Nicholson*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXXIV, No. 4.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1954, pp. ix, 108, $3.50.) This book is a biography of Joscelyn de Courtenay, count of Turbessel (1102–1113) and later of Edessa (1119–1131). As such it helps fill the need for a history of the County of Edessa, the least known of the four Latin Christian states established in the East by the crusaders. The author previously wrote a biography of Tancred of Antioch, which made him familiar with the history of the Franks in Syria. Of most value in this monograph are the accounts of the great Frankish disaster at Ḥarrān in 1104; the resultant Turkish captivity of Joscelyn

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and his suzerain, Baldwin II of Edessa; and their release and Turkish alliances (1108–1109) to recover their lands from Tancred of Antioch. Other matters of interest are an excellent account of the *jihāds* of Mawdūd I of Mosul (1110–1113), which fell most heavily upon the exposed County of Edessa; and the period of leaderlessness among the Franks in the East when Joscelyn, now count of Edessa, and Baldwin II, king of Jerusalem, were again prisoners of the Turks (1122–1125). Joscelyn is shown to have been a daring and rugged fighter who was very successful in the defense and even the expansion of his own territories. He was shrewd in exploiting the weaknesses and divisions among the Muslims but not enough of a statesman to see the over-riding need of Frankish unity against the growing power of the Turks. Nicholson's monograph is a meticulous piece of scholarship and will probably prove to be definitive on the subject of Joscelyn. Slight errors are the statements that Mawdūd was the brother of the Saljūq Sultan Muḥammad; that Mawdūd and Ṭughdakīn of Damascus arrived at Shayzar, September 25, 1111, rather than September 15; and that Roger of Antioch arrived at al-Ṣannabrah before the battle, June 28, 1113, rather than immediately afterward.

HAROLD S. FINK, *University of Tennessee*

L'ENSEIGNEMENT DE L'ÉCRITURE AUX UNIVERSITÉS MÉDIÉVALES. By *István Hajnal.* [Studia historica, 7.] (Budapest, Academia scientiarum Hungarica, 1954, pp. 187.) This is a highly controversial study, an elaborate essay in which the author expounds at greater length hypotheses previously stated in 1943 in an essay entitled "Vergleichende Schriftproben zur Entwicklung und Verbreitung der Schrift im 12.–13. Jahrhundert" (*Schriftlichkeit und intellektuelle Schichtung: Beiträge zur europäischen Entwicklungsgeschichte,* Heft I.) and more pertinently in 1952 in *Scriptorium,* VI, No. 2 ("Universities and the Development of Writing in the XIIth–XIIIth Centuries"). Neither article satisfied critics and this newer series of essays will hardly win many to accept and support contentions similar to those previously expressed. Following a brief introduction there is a section on elementary teaching in the universities of the Middle Ages. This is based on well-known and oft-used sources, is discursive in character, and does not serve the purpose for which it was obviously intended. A chapter on methods of teaching writing in the university is not approached with assurance when the writer opens this section with the statement that "it seems almost impossible to find in the sources incontestable and concrete facts concerning the teaching of writing." He then proceeds to explain, tenuously to be sure, that writing must have been taught in the universities and leans heavily on the custom "pronunciare ad pennam" to substantiate his claims. A section discussing "Courses for the drawing up of charters in the universities" and one discussing "The effect of scholarly teaching on the uniformity of European diplomatic usage" complete the study. It is doubtful if students of diplomatic and palaeographers will agree with the contentions put forth in these sections. There is no question of the sincerity with which Hajnal approaches his task, but it seems that he has let theory and conjecture carry him astray. To use fact as a brake is often wise, usually necessary. This has not been done here.

GRAY C. BOYCE, *Northwestern University*

MEDIEVAL MERCHANT VENTURERS: COLLECTED STUDIES. By *E. M. Carus-Wilson,* Professor of Economic History in the University of London. (London, Methuen, 1954, pp. xxxii, 314, 30*s.*) In this volume Miss Carus-Wilson has republished eight essays which had appeared previously between 1929 and 1950. The third study, "The Origins and Early Development of the Merchant Adventurers'

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Organization in London," seemingly supplied the title of the book, but other studies, "The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Fifteenth Century" (chap. 1), "The Iceland Venture" (chap. 2), and three essays (chaps. 5, 6, 8) on the cloth industry and trade are related to the main theme; the relationship is less direct in two other chapters. Minor changes from the earlier versions have been made, "but beyond this no attempt has been made to incorporate the results of later research or to amend what is amiss." In two instances only (pp. 210, 261, n. 3) has the author taken cognizance of later work on the subjects. The author's disregard of later studies is legitimate; her earlier studies were in the nature of pioneer articles, designed to indicate new areas of study and new approaches. All were based on a meticulous exploration of the sources, most of them still in manuscript form. Typical of her provocative approach is the fourth essay, "An Industrial Revolution of the Thirteenth Century." In it Miss Carus-Wilson relates the thirteenth-century decline of the cloth industry in the cities to the development of the industry in the countryside; the basic revolution was the use of water power in the fulling mills and for this purpose the swift streams of the north and west served better than the calmer rivers of the south and east. In a devastating study, "The Aulnage Accounts: A Criticism," she shows the invalidity of these accounts and the hazards in their use by modern historians (chap. 8). In "Trends in the Export of English Woollens in the Fourteenth Century," she points out that the export of English woollens increased as the export of raw wool decreased and that this development was synchronous to the decline of the older industries of Italy and Flanders (chap. 6). Each study in a clear and masterful way presents an approach, an interpretation that is suggestive and new. The book is remarkably free of errors, except for a few typographical slips. The volume is enhanced by a very good index, appropriate charts, enticing maps, and a delightful frontispiece.

HILMAR C. KRUEGER, *University of Cincinnati*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

Leland H. Carlson[1]

HUMANISM AND THE SOCIAL ORDER IN TUDOR ENGLAND. By *Fritz Caspari.* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1954, pp. ix, 293, $6.50.) The title of this book is more comprehensive than its contents. Except for chapters one and six, it is devoted to the detailed analysis of important sixteenth-century books concerned with the education of the upper classes in England. The chapter on Erasmus deals largely with his *Instituto Principis Christiani* and his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani;* the chapter on Sir Thomas More with *Utopia;* the chapter on Eliot with

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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The Governor; the chapter on Thomas Starkey with *A Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset;* the chapter on Sir Philip Sidney with *Arcadia;* and the chapter on Edmund Spenser with *The Faerie Queene.* The introductory chapter deals in general with the developing interest of the governing classes in humanistic learning. This theme is elaborated in the one remaining chapter, "Humanism and the Rise of the Gentry." The author has made a careful analysis of the pertinent writings of Erasmus and the others in terms of the cultural standards which they advocate, though his interpretation of More's *Utopia* is open to question. He has based the other parts of his text upon the findings of modern scholars. It does not appear that he has made any independent contribution to our knowledge of his subject. But what he has to say he has said well and scholars will find his book useful as a summary of far-scattered, pertinent secondary material. The book is well printed on good paper, attractively bound. Its price is forbidding.

CONYERS READ, *University of Pennsylvania*

THE IRISH CATHOLIC CONFEDERACY AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION. By *Thomas L. Coonan.* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, pp. xviii, 402, $6.00.) The English Civil War was, of course, really a British Civil War, marking a decisive turning-point in the histories of Ireland and Scotland, as well as that of England. The consequences were radically different for the two smaller kingdoms, but of equally lasting significance. Yet in spite of the general recognition of this fact, the Civil War outside England is still too often treated from a narrowly English point of view. Professor Coonan's volume is a sound corrective to this deficiency. It contains a detailed account of the Civil War in Ireland, beginning with the Strafford regime and ending with the completion of the Cromwellian conquest in 1653. The focus of the book is on the Irish scene, particularly on the Catholic Confederacy. The author's thesis is clear. He sees the period as a revolutionary one for Ireland in that the Confederacy marks the first attempt to construct a national program for Irish resistance to the English. The desultory, piecemeal, and local resistance of the past was replaced by an attempt at nation-wide union, resting on the twin pillars of the Roman Catholic religion and the legislative independence of the Irish parliament. The attempt remained only an attempt because of the failure of Old Irish and Anglo-Irish to achieve any real unity. The author's estimate as to the causes of this failure is clear enough. For him the blame lies with the Anglo-Irish and particularly with their adored leader, Ormond. Their fear of the Old Irish was greater than their distaste for English domination, even by the Puritan parliament. Lukewarm in their Roman Catholicism and quite innocent of any Irish patriotism, they were anxious only to preserve their particular privileges. In short the first Irish nationalist program failed for lack of sufficient nationalists. The consequences were the extinction of the Old Irish leaders and their way of life; the events of 1689–1691 only confirmed this situation. Irish history is a warm subject even when the events have had three hundred years in which to cool. The author's emotional commitments are obvious and intrude on every page of the book. The tragic hero is Owen Roe O'Neill; the villain, Ormond. One may sympathize with the tragic quality of Irish history, especially in this epoch, and yet deplore so emotional a portrayal of it. This is a solid book in its exhaustive use of sources and its detailed treatment of events; it would have been still better had its tone been more dispassionate. A secondary theme in the work is the constitutional theory of the Confederates, which so interestingly anticipates much of that of the Americans of the 1760's. This problem might have been more effectively handled had it been treated topically in separate chapters rather than being mingled in a very complex narrative. The author

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has rendered a useful service in giving a full narrative account of a major episode in Irish history and in providing a thoughtful interpretation of that episode.

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY, *Haverford College*

IL POPISH PLOT: NELLE RELAZIONI INEDITE DEI RESIDENTI GRANDUCALI ALLA CORTE DI LONDRA (1678–1681). Fonti della storia d'Inghilterra nell'archivio di stato di Firenze. By *Anna Maria Crinò*. [Temi e testi, 3.] (Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1954, pp. 302.) Dr. Crinò gives in this volume a copious and continuous narrative, with many excerpts drawn from the dispatches of Giovanni Salvetti, resident of the grand duke of Tuscany at London, and Francesco Terriesi, who succeeded him in his functions. It is a very thorough work and adds one view to those already available of the Popish Plot. The labor of checking these witnesses with others has been left to the reader; it is not, evidently, a part of the task which the author has set herself. There are compensations, particularly an account and catalogue of Cosimo de' Medici's collection of pamphlets on the plot, now at Florence. Some of these are now very rare indeed. There are a few slips, such as a reference (p. 61) to the *twelve* chief justices of England and a habit of oversimplifying the embryonic Whig party into "il partito presbiteriano." No doubt here the terminology of Terriesi, who sided with the Catholics from the first and suspected the authenticity of the plot very early, has misled Dr. Crinò.

GEORGE HILTON JONES, *Washington College*

RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By *Roland N. Stromberg*. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xi, 192.) The period treated in this book lies between the "1688 revolution" and the revolt of the American colonies. "Liberalism" is interpreted as a departure from current orthodoxy, though the latter is never definitely described. The "religion" considered existed largely in the realm of theory or doctrine. The efforts of the Established Church to maintain a monopoly of worship and to diminish the influence of other sects is scarcely a minor theme in the book, though it was a major subject of controversy in the early decades of the period. Little attention is paid to the habitual piety of a large majority of the people. The author is concerned primarily with the attempts of various writers to consider rationally some of the central doctrines of the church, especially those pertaining to the Trinity. Among the writers considered are John Locke, Samuel Clarke, John Toland, Anthony Collins, William Whiston, and their more orthodox contemporaries. Some of the chapter headings indicate the content of the discussion: "Arians and Socinians," "The Definition of Deism," "Highlights of the Deistic Controversy," "Orthodoxy at Bay," and "Arminianism." When the author ventures afield from this central theme, as he does in such chapters as "The Secularization of Politics," "Religion and the Ruling Class," and "Religion and Social Reform," his narrative is less informed. For example, John Tutchin was killed several years earlier and not "during the Sacheverell excitement" (p. 6). Few who have read widely in the sources concerning events will agree that "The eighteenth century in English history is an age of repose, in which men had time to debate religious questions, but few reasons to fight over them" (p. 133). One may agree that the mob in the Gordon riots was "aimless and leaderless" without concluding, "It was a sign of growing inequality and growing insecurity for many of the poor" (p. 140). Few will be wholly convinced that "Clearly Edmund Burke was a Christian because he was a conservative in politics—because, that is, he saw in the Church a useful tool of political conservatism and because the French radicals were inclined to deism" (p. 165).

W. T. LAPRADE, *Duke University*

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ROBERT OWEN OF NEW LANARK. By *Margaret Cole.* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. vii, 231, $3.50.) With the emergence to political power of the Labour party, a place has had to be found in the British pantheon for Robert Owen (1771–1858), spiritual father (in a way that is easier to feel than to explain) of the co-operative and workingmen's movements of modern Britain. Apotheosis inevitably produces hagiography. The new biography of Robert Owen by Margaret Cole must be looked upon as a responsible and honest representative of a class of works that often possess neither quality: namely, lives of the saints. In point of fact, Mrs. Cole is doing for the present generation what her husband, G. D. H. Cole, did for the 1920's with his *Robert Owen* (1925). Both authors present popular narratives, based principally on Owen's autobiography and the two-volume life by Frank Podmore (1906). The author's own contributions are not in the realm of original research (though Mrs. Cole does make use of certain recent studies), but in the realm of interpretation. In his biography of 1925, G. D. H. Cole treated Owen (almost for the first time) as one fountainhead of a living political and economic ideology rather than merely a spokesman of an early and outmoded movement of reform. Mrs. Cole's purpose is, of course, the same. Her perspective, indeed, is so similar to that of her husband's book of thirty years ago as to suggest that the Labour interpretation of history is hardening into a pattern as rigid as that once offered by the old Whig school. As a piece of writing, Mrs. Cole's biography of Owen is wholly admirable. It is compact (224 pages) but lively and readable. It covers in balanced fashion Owen's varied activities, captures his spirit and personality, and traces perceptively his somewhat inexplicable influence. Though the book attempts no penetrating analysis of Owen's ideas and offers no new information about his life, it does at least provide an accurate, succinct, and lucid account of his career and of the general principles for which he stood.

ARTHUR BESTOR, *University of Illinois*

THE CITY AND COUNTY OF BRISTOL: A STUDY IN ATLANTIC CIVILISATION. By *Bryan Little.* (London, Werner Laurie, 1954, pp. xix, 399, 25*s.*) Bryan Little's history of Bristol is a bold venture in historical writing, for the author undertakes in three-hundred-odd pages to trace the city's development over a period of sixteen centuries. Skillfully he has selected the significant features of every era from Roman times to the present to explain the character of the "Atlantic civilization" that emerged in this west English port. American scholars who have struggled to analyze the far shorter history of particular New World communities cannot fail to admire Mr. Little's adroit handling of the complex of topics which competent urban biography must encompass. Shipbuilding and commerce, crafts and later large-scale industry, town and city government, education, religion, architecture, literary figures, newspapers, the theater, and recent *tourisme* all receive attention, fleeting at times, thorough at others, and generally spiced with specific data. Chronological down through the Civil War and Monmouth's rebellion, treatment then becomes topical for the Georgian Age and the nineteenth century. The chapters covering the economic life of eighteenth-century Bristol, her artistic and cultural progress, the *haute monde,* and the rise of the suburbs of Clifton and Hotwells, a spa once scarcely less famous than Bath, are particularly rich in interest. The twentieth century, perhaps properly, gets short shrift. Indeed, the discussion of every period suffers from extreme compression. For example, the thirty pages allotted to the years between the battle of Bosworth and the opening of the Puritan Revolution suffice for only cursory review of much that is highly important. Yet obviously the choice lay between a multivolumed work, a detailed study of a century or two,

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and the swift-paced, sketchy story Mr. Little presents. In spanning Bristol's entire history he has done signal service, and, though he passes rapidly over some vital matters, his vivid descriptions of other events, his sharp vignettes of people involved, and a series of magnificent photographs combine to give the book unique value. CONSTANCE McL. GREEN, *American University*

AGE AND YOUTH: MEMORIES OF THREE UNIVERSITIES AND FATHER OF THE MAN. By Sir *Ernest Barker,* Honorary Fellow, Merton College, Oxford and Peterhouse, Cambridge; Sometime Principal of King's College, London. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1953, pp. viii, 347, $5.00.) Although Sir Ernest Barker describes his own book as "only a conversation," it is autobiography at its best. Unlike the usual survey of one's own life, this work starts off, in Part I, with Professor Barker's work as a university teacher at Oxford. The story of his academic life for fifty years (1898–1948) is recounted with frankness, pungency, and well-selected detail. Part II, previously published, is a briefer account of the first twenty-four years of his life (1874–1898). The major portion of this work is a fascinating account of Professor Barker's association with three universities. After graduating as a "Greats" man in 1898, thoroughly steeped in Greek and Latin, classical history and philosophy, Professor Barker was elected to a classics fellowship but then was appointed to a lectureship in modern history at Wadham College, where he taught for ten years. During the next eleven years he continued at St. John's and New College. In these two decades he was a colleague of outstanding historians such as H. A. L. Fisher, C. G. Robertson, R. L. Poole, H. W. C. Davis, C. H. Firth, and Charles Oman. He tutored fifteen or twenty students each week, put examinees through their paces, and lectured on topics of his own choosing. What impresses the reader is the wide variety of themes handled in the lectures—general English history, medieval constitutional history, the Crusades, the German Reformation, working-class movements, and political theory. By 1920 the effect of the war, the lure of London, an itch for administration, and a hard-headed business acumen combined to precipitate a decision whereby Professor Barker accepted the position as principal of King's College, in the University of London. For the next seven years he was deeply immersed in educational problems, committees, conferences, speeches, sermons, planning, hoping, building. But in 1927 a professorship of political science was founded at Cambridge University, and Professor Barker was invited to occupy this chair. Despite a Puritan conscience which urged him to stick to the arduous task of administrative responsibility, despite his devotion to his colleagues and to the challenging life in London, despite his inability to reason the matter out, he instinctively decided to heed the siren voice that called him back to teaching and writing. For the next eleven years Professor Barker resumed his teaching career, and since 1939 has enjoyed the years of retirement and reflection. Consequently, the wisdom and mellowness and maturity to be found throughout this autobiography are the rewards of the reader. LELAND H. CARLSON, *Rockford College*

A DIARY WITH LETTERS, 1931–1950. By *Thomas Jones.* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1954, pp. xlv, 582, $4.80.) This book gives a fascinating glimpse into a source of major importance for future historians. It may be fittingly described as "unique," especially in view of the British tradition of autobiographical reticence and delay in publication of official records. Dr. Jones, gifted biographer of Lloyd George, joined the newly formed cabinet secretariat in the first days of Lloyd George's prime ministership. Already trusted by George, who had earlier appointed him from a background of university teaching and social welfare work to be secre-

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tary of the Welsh National Health Insurance Commission, Jones served for fourteen years under Hankey, becoming friend and confidential adviser to four prime ministers. When in 1931, with Baldwin's blessing, he moved to the post of secretary of the Pilgrim Trust, he continued to associate with Baldwin and other important figures in politics, government, and the arts. Throughout his career in and about Whitehall "T. J.," as he was known to friends, kept a secret diary, accumulating by the time of his semiretirement in 1952 some forty manuscript volumes. These will be, when available, of immense value to scholars. For the present generation Jones has now edited and released about one sixth of the material dealing with the period after he left the civil service, including excerpts from his correspondence. His selections are not of equal importance, some serving only to reveal the author's own personality and judgment. But the extracts contain significant revelations, despite Dr. Jones's highly developed sense of discretion. Perhaps his book's most valuable single asset is the new light it throws upon Baldwin's mind and methods. Of special interest also is Dr. Jones's full introduction—"Of Prime Ministers, Private Secretaries, Hostesses and Clubs"—which reflects the breadth of his experience in high political circles and stresses the vital role played behind the scenes by private secretaries and unofficial advisers who are seldom widely known and whose influence is frequently undetermined. As befits a volume touching on many subjects and personalities, this one is well indexed.

GEORGE CURRY, *University of South Carolina*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop[1]

COMMENT LES FRANÇAIS VOYAIENT LA FRANCE AU XVII[e] SIÈCLE. By *Roland Mousnier, V. L. Tapié, A. G. Martimort, J. Meuvret,* and *G. Livet.* [Bulletin de la Société d'étude du XVII[e] siècle, nos. 25–26, 1955.] (Paris, the Society, 1955, pp. 136, 400 fr.) Each of the five studies in this book presents perceptions which result from the authors' endeavor to see their country through the eyes of seventeenth-century Frenchmen. M. Mousnier shows that most French writers believed that France had a constitution, i.e., fundamental laws, within which the government had to operate and which no person or institution could alter, in contrast with England. M. Tapié suggests the evolution of *patrie* from its early symbolization by the king and one's loyalty to him, to the hints in Vauban and Fénélon that the *patrie* was the people, to whom the king owed loyalty. M. Meuvret argues interestingly that indirect taxes, denounced by moderns as regressive, were less so when the majority of the lower classes were peasants who produced most of their needs and traded privately, tax-free, for the rest. He presents evidence indicating some of the tax riots of the little people were at least tolerated if not encouraged by officials and merchants who were more hurt by the *aides.* Chanoine Martimort discloses the wide range of attitudes toward the popes expressed by the many orders and groups in France, and shows that despite defiance and dispute the French always recoiled from the final acts which would have brought schism. M. Livet examines how the French saw Alsace and the Alsatians saw France and concludes that they didn't see much of each other.

J. B. SIRICH, *University of Illinois*

THE FRENCH CONSTITUTION AND THE SOCIAL QUESTION IN THE OLD REGIME, 1700–1789. By *Lester B. Mason.* (Buffalo, the Author, 1954, pp. 124.) This is a study in political theory. The author has made a scholarly examination of the literature of mild protest in eighteenth-century France evoked by the absolutism of Louis XIV and his successors. While most of the complainants were nobles writing in defense of their "rights," which they based on that elusive thing called the French constitution, two or three were clergymen, and several were bourgeois critics appealing to the constitution in advocacy of reforms they wished. The study is carried to 1789, the pamphlets and *cahiers* on the eve of the Revolution being considered. The presentation is largely factual and analytical; generalization and integration with the movements of the day are inadequately done. No mention is made of the influence of the brochures, aside from indication of the number of editions they attained, nor of the government's reaction. Neither does the author evaluate the movement's influence on the constitutional discussions of the National Assembly. The political thought of the century is presented as static, with little or no intimation of the idea of progress. Despite these limitations, Mr. Mason has given on his narrow canvas a careful and useful study. SHELBY T. MCCLOY, *University of Kentucky*

[1] Responsible only for the list of articles.

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THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1788–1792. By *Gaetano Salvemini,* Professor of History in the University of Florence and Emeritus Professor of Harvard University. Translated from the Italian by *I. M. Rawson.* (New York, Henry Holt, 1954, pp. 343, $5.00.) This revision of an earlier edition (1905) praised by both Aulard and Mathiez is an excellent work, although some might naturally think it dated in spite of the inclusion of new material in 1949 and in the present translation. However, its aim is not to present new facts but to give a "rapid synthesis" of the author's "conclusions." This aim has been ably accomplished. Some of the facts and conclusions are different from those ordinarily found in one-volume histories, and the proportions of the book are unusual. In dealing only with the period from 1788 to 1792 and primarily with the destruction of the monarchy, nine lines are given to the fall of the Bastille and a page and a half to the first Fête of the Federation. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the flight to Varennes are given two of the eight chapter headings. Facts and interpretations are thought-provoking and will be interesting to those concerned with the histories of the early part of the Revolution, thus fitting into the literature of the period. The translation is clear and readable in spite of such terms as "share-cropper" and "priest-ridden" and will not be too difficult for persons who have no great factual knowledge of the events and personages of the Revolution. Stress is laid upon the personal element in the Revolution; Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette are declared to be the chief authors of their ruin (p. 263). On the other hand, it is stated that the Revolution was the necessary outcome of social and economic developments (p. 14). Economics are stressed throughout the period. There are no footnotes and only a short bibliographical note by the author indicating that since it is impossible to go to the sources, uncontested statements are accepted if they are published in the principal reviews and receive good notices.

E. L. Higgins, *Arkansas State Teachers College*

HISTOIRE DES IDÉES SOCIALES EN FRANCE: D'AUGUSTE COMTE A P.-J. PROUDHON. By *Maxime Leroy.* [Bibliothèque des idées.] (Paris, Gallimard, 1954, pp. 395, 990 fr.) This is the third volume of M. Leroy's study of French social ideas since Montesquieu and includes roughly the period from 1848 to 1871. M. Leroy displays erudition and moderation in his effort to understand ideas. Of course, he has patent aversions; Babeuf, Blanqui, and all those who preached "creative violence" or who posed as the infallible doctors of society are objectionable to him. He is, however, more witty than bitter, especially in his descriptions of the vaticinations of the social romantics, Hugo, Vigny, Sainte-Beuve; of the savants, Comte, Renan, LePlay; the novelists, Balzac and George Sand; and the social caesar, Napoleon III. His coverage is broad, for he finds a variety of social ideas emanating from the effort to adapt men to two facts: experimental science and large-scale industry. Most thinkers felt that this was the task of an elite, whether scientific, literary, or revolutionary. Only Proudhon urged the people to make their own adaptation. Admitting Proudhon's contradictions, M. Leroy finds in his writings an admirable "spirit of liberty." But M. Leroy's interpretation of liberty is too narrow. To say that Proudhon represents liberty and Blanc authority is to misrepresent their differences. Unfortunately the opening chapter, "1848," is unsatisfactory; the reader does not see the intense conflict of doctrines nor the Second Republic as a watershed for socialist ideas between the pre- and post-1848 periods. 1848 differed from 1871. Had M. Leroy pointed up this transition, his chapters dealing with socialism would have achieved greater unity. Happily these weaknesses are amply compensated by the general excellence of the volume. It is an important tool for the historian, serving as a compilation of ideas and an analysis of their significance. Leo A. Loubere, *University of Tennessee*

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L'OEUVRE DE LÉON BLUM: CRITIQUE LITTÉRAIRE; NOUVELLES CONVERSATIONS DE GOETHE AVEC ECKERMANN; PREMIERS ESSAIS POLITIQUES, 1891–1905. (Paris, Albin Michel, 1954, pp. xxxi, 588, 1,200 fr.) When shortly after Léon Blum's death in 1950 plans were announced for the publication of his complete works, many received the announcement somewhat skeptically in view of printing costs and the declining fortunes of the French Socialist party. It is a pleasure to report, therefore, that the first volume of the project has now made its appearance and specific plans disclosed for the publication of about five more volumes at the rate of about two per year. However, the editors have reluctantly abandoned the hope of publishing the complete works and have resigned themselves to a selection of all that they consider "durable." Laudably, whatever is selected is being presented in full and not in extract. The present volume, covering the writings of Blum's earliest years into his early thirties, includes such larger works as *Nouvelles conversations de Goethe avec Eckermann, Les Congrès ouvriers et socialistes,* and *En lisant* as well as articles of literary criticism and comments on politics culled from a variety of periodicals but principally from *La Revue blanche.* An appendix presents some of his youthful ventures into poetry and fiction. Because the larger works have long been readily available to scholars, even though several are now out of print, one is most grateful for the periodical pieces, some of which appeared originally without Blum's signature and might otherwise be lost. At least one selection, an article on the 1902 elections, has not hitherto been published. Perhaps an even greater effort might be made in future volumes to incorporate the more fugitive material and unpublished items along with the better known standard works. A complete bibliography, at least for the period to 1914, is promised; it is hoped that it will be extended down through the subsequent years. JOEL COLTON, *Duke University*

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C. J. Bishko

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THE LOW COUNTRIES

B. H. Wabeke[1]

WILLIAM OF HORNES, LORD OF HÈZE, AND THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS, 1576–1580. By *Gordon Griffiths.* [University of California Publications in History, Volume LI.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1954, pp. x, 91, $1.25.) William of Hornes, Lord of Hèze, in four years (1576–1580) led a successful rebellion against Spain, later "betrayed" it and signed a treaty of reconciliation with the crown, and finally was executed for attempting to go against Spain once more. Gordon Griffiths has found the reason for Hèze's vacillations in the political and religious pattern set during the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain. He has been especially concerned with the French-speaking part of the Netherlands where Calvinism made its first inroads rather than in that area which eventually became the "Dutch Republic." The patriotism of Hèze caused him to play a leading role in the *coup d'état* of September 4, 1576, which led to the Pacification of Ghent and to the unification of both the Flemish and the Walloon Netherlands against Philip II. Religious and political differences developed between the two areas and among the various religious groups and social classes. The nobles became politically impotent and the burgher strength increased. Hèze and the nobles joined a middle group, the Malcontents, in "their desire to counter the influence of Orange and his Calvinist and burgher allies" (p. 54). This group finally accepted the overtures of Parma. When the latter showed no inclination to allow the nobles a share in the administration of Brabant, Hèze once more turned toward Orange and an alliance with France. He was discovered and executed on November 16, 1580. Griffiths considers Hèze to be a man of vision. "At its narrowest, during his Malcontent phase, this vision was of a Catholic, constitutional monarchy two hundred and fifty years ahead of its time, for the Treaty of Arras may be looked upon as foreshadowing the Belgium of 1830. At its widest, as exemplified in the Pacification of Ghent and in his final return to the French-Orangist alliance, Hèze's vision embraced a still larger, though in the end impractical, ideal—that of a free, tolerant, and united Netherlands" (p. 81). This too-brief summary does provide an insight into the political, military, religious, and economic factors which were paramount during the revolt of the Netherlands and as they were illustrated during the career of Hèze. Archival and printed sources were used, and the bibliography and the index are adequate. One would like to know more about Henry de Bloeyere, the burgher friend of Hèze, and about some of the others who bob in and out of Hèze's life. An expansion of the study would perhaps have made it easier for the reader to comprehend Hèze's vision more easily. It is hoped that this sample is a promise of additional studies in this field by Professor Griffiths.

JOHN J. MURRAY, *Coe College*

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Oscar J. Falnes

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner[1]

GESCHICHTLICHE KRÄFTE UND ENTSCHEIDUNGEN: FESTSCHRIFT ZUM FÜNFUNDSECHZIGSTEN GEBURTSTAGE VON OTTO BECKER. Edited by *Martin Göhring* and *Alexander Scharff*. (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1954, pp. viii, 316, DM 24.) In this volume sixteen historians, friends and former students of Professor Becker, pay tribute to a scholar whose writings (listed in an appendix) have already brought him recognition from grateful historians outside Germany. The essays found here cover a good deal of German history, offering an intellectual *smörgåsbord* that is rich and varied. Several touch on history before 1800—the Middle Ages, Henry the Lion and Denmark, the Schmalkaldic League and Sweden, the relations of Calvin and Hotman, the imperial elections and the Rhenish League of 1658. Two essays deal with the role of the German language in stirring up nationalism in the Danish-speaking areas of Schleswig. Three essays are concerned with phases of German unification—one on Hans Christoph von Gagern and his sons, one on Fredrick William IV of Prussia, a third on the warm interest of Americans in the efforts of Germans to become united through a federation. Of these three, that concerning Frederick William IV, by Alexander Scharff of Kiel, is of particular interest. It puts the German revolution of 1848–1849 in its international setting and shows that Austria, France, and Russia were so hostile to unification as to be ready to intervene to prevent it. Five essays deal with Germany's history since 1870—one with documents bearing on Bismarck's "bribing" King Louis II of Bavaria in 1870 in order to get him to propose that the king of Prussia be made German emperor, one given to a detailed analysis of the Reinsurance Treaty of 1887, one on the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907 and the Straits question, one on the diplomatic turning point for Germany in the First World War, one on German military influence in Argentina. Oswald Hauser's paper on the role of the Straits question in the relations of Britain and Russia after 1907 is a most important contribution, deserving to be treated fully

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in a book instead of being condensed in an essay. It has one significant error: the author still believes that in the treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi Turkey gave Russia in 1833 the right to move her warships freely through the Straits while closing those waters to the warships of Russia's enemies. The last essay in the *Festschrift* is a stimulating one that asks and seeks to answer fundamental questions regarding the justified use of power to check an unjustified, brutal, and destructive use of power.

HARRY R. RUDIN, *Yale University*

"LANDRÄUMIG," SEBASTIAN FRANCK, EIN WANDERER AN DONAU, RHEIN UND NECKAR. By *Eberhard Teufel.* (Neustadt an der Aisch, Bavaria, 1954, pp. 123.) Sebastian Franck is one of the most fascinating figures in the religious life of sixteenth-century Germany. His command of the German language was excelled only by that of Luther. The range of Franck's interest was even wider than that of Luther, since it included geography and world history. Franck's greatest distinction is his detachment and objectivity in viewing not only the past but also his own age, even at points where he was himself a participant and a victim of its battles. His life was even more tragic than that of the martyrs, who died at the stake just once. He was banished continuously. His final migration with a dying wife and six children was to Basel. Yet despite such disturbances and the necessity of supporting his family by making and peddling soap, he contrived both to write and to publish an astounding amount, doubly amazing because he lived only to the age of forty-three. For the church historian the significance of Franck lies chiefly in this, that his spiritualizing of religion disintegrated the visible church. He himself refused to found a sect. For that reason he has left no disciples eager to cultivate his memory, reprint his works and write his biography. Systematic and sober work about him is scant. Eberhard Teufel has set himself the task of finding out all the concrete data that can be amassed about Franck's life and writings: the banishments and migrations, the printing of his books, the editions and the influence notably in Holland. This mode of treatment of necessity confines itself primarily to the concrete. Reference is made, of course, to Franck's ideas, and they are correctly classified in the history of thought, but they are not elaborated and discussed. There is room for another work dealing with Franck as a theologian and a philosopher of history. For this marvelously detailed and exact portrayal of his outward life and works, we are grateful.

ROLAND H. BAINTON, *Yale University*

GEHEIMES KRIEGSTAGEBUCH, 1870–1871. By *Paul Bronsart von Schellendorff,* Chef der Operations-Abteilung im Grossen Generalstab. With the assistance of *Theodor Michaux.* Edited by *Peter Rassow.* (Bonn, Athenäum, 1954, pp. 448, DM 24.) The reputations of leading Germans in the Franco-Prussian War, judges editor Rassow, are so firm that they will not be shaken by the comments in this diary. Still, one wonders what the good *Bürger* will think when he finds a Junker, a fellow Prussian with all the requisite qualities, saying these things: "Count Bismarck is really about ripe for an insane asylum" (p. 212); "Little thieves are hung; the big ones go free" (p. 309); Bismarck has promised [Moltke] . . . ; it is doubtful if he will keep his word" (p. 313); "He is eagerly conferring with his banker, the Jew Bleichröder. . . . The [banker] was in the office today and related that Bismarck had said. . . . Now, who is lying, the Jew or Bismarck? I believe it is the latter . . ." (p. 349). These extremely personal comments reflect the bitterness of the relationship between Bismarck and the General Staff during the war. Bronsart recorded his impressions day by day as the campaign progressed. Though mainly devoted to military affairs, the diary gives an authentic impression of Moltke's attitudes, for he and

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Bronsart were very close. Significant sections deal with civilian-military friction. The memories of 1866, when the diplomat deprived the generals of their fruits of victory, haunt the GHQ of 1870–1871. In typical Bismarckian fashion crisis after crisis occurs over the chancellor's "interference in purely military matters." Bronsart considers the military arrangements for the new German Empire detrimental to the Prussian army and serving only to extend Bismarck's hallucinations of grandeur. Most Western historians will inherently oppose Bronsart's conception of the army's relationship to political authority, yet will sympathize with his problems of living with a chancellor who tampered with military telegrams. And how innocent is the military mind as it records the immediate origins of the Franco-Prussian War! "We were unanimous, . . . if it came to war, it would be solely the will of France. We were then disagreeably disturbed by the news about the withdrawal of the Prince of Hohenzollern, for we suspected a retreat and feared that France would be content with this small political success. But already the next day we read the [Ems] Telegram . . . and drank to the health of the Duke of Gramont" (p. 35).

HENRY CORD MEYER, *Pomona College*

SECHS JAHRE REICHSKANZLEI, VON RAPALLO BIS LOCARNO: ERINNERUNGEN UND TAGEBUCHNOTIZEN, 1922–1927. By *Max von Stockhausen*. Edited by *Walter Görlitz*. (Bonn, Athenäum, 1954, pp. 279, DM 14.) Recent controversy between defenders and critics of the new West German state points up a general tendency among Germans to view the Weimar era as a rather melancholy chapter in their history. This is one legacy of the "National Revolution" of 1933 which still survives and which, to a large extent, explains the reluctance of German historians—particularly the older members of the profession—to exhume unhappy memories. Until recently native historians have left this task to non-German and ex-German scholars. Admittedly they are handicapped, as the editor of this volume points out, by the fact that a large portion of the relevant documents remain in foreign custody. Moreover, apart from Papen, none of the chancellors and only a few of the ministers of the Weimar Republic have published their memoirs. This volume seeks to help fill the gap. The author, son-in-law of Papen, served from 1922 to 1927 as a sort of cabinet secretary and adjutant to the chancellors of the First Republic. A member of the Westphalian Catholic aristocracy and son of a Prussian general, Stockhausen does not so much contribute any new, startling facts bearing upon the period he covers as that he reveals—one suspects inadvertently—the unsympathetic attitude of the civil servants the republic inherited from the empire toward the new democratic order. There is little or no evidence here that the conservative aristocrats, who largely dominated the higher civil service, went as far in their hostility as the army and members of the judiciary—the traditions of the service apparently inhibited overt political expression of personal prejudices. However, they did not seek to hide their dismay over the decline of German power, the presumed selfishness of the parties to the detriment of the national interest, and the apparent inefficiency of the parliamentary system. With "great sorrow" in his heart Stockhausen mourns "a happier past" at Bismarck's grave during the turbulent days of 1923. As a whole, his book confirms the prevalent German view: "misfortune pursued the destiny of the Weimar Republic."

LEWIS J. EDINGER, *Air University*

TYCOONS AND TYRANT: GERMAN INDUSTRY FROM HITLER TO ADENAUER. By *Louis P. Lochner*. (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1954, pp. viii, 304, $5.00.) Former Associated Press correspondent Louis P. Lochner, known also as editor of the Goebbels diaries, served as member of the Hoover Commission in Germany and

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Austria in 1947. The impressions he gained then, and the renewal of many personal contacts made during his fourteen years in Weimarian and Hitlerian Berlin, caused him to reopen the question of the German producers' share in Hitler's coming to power and in Hitlerism. His study is based, in the first place, on scores of personal interviews with industrialists and other representatives of Germany's economic life, and also on the material of the *Industrie- und Handelskammer* of Essen. The author does not claim to have studied the voluminous records of the war crimes trials, indispensable for this purpose, or to have otherwise gained access to private sources like the ones used in the trials, nor does he seem to be familiar with the existing scientific literature on his topic. Being a journalist, he lays the greatest emphasis on "the man-to-man give-and-take of conversation and discussion." This procedure, while making the book often vivid, diminishes its value for the historian. Mr. Lochner's experience in properly appraising men and facts permits him to draw lively and on the whole accurate portraits of a fair number of captains of industry under Hitler and to destroy *prima vista* some of the most current misconceptions concerning his problem. He discards the stories that heavy industry helped the Nazis gain power by putting a financial levy on coal, that Hitler was exclusively industry-financed, that German industry tried to push him into the war, that Hitler's famous speech in the Dusseldorf Industrie Klub in January, 1932, brought the producers into his camp, and some related tales. Most of the author's statements on these topics assert the obvious and partly restate facts already stressed by others. But his failure to consult the available material makes him commit factual errors (two of them for instance, in his notes on the Stinnes director, Minoux [p. 97]) and overlook important points. Ignoring totally what is known as *Der Fall Gelsenkirchen* he fails to pay attention to the efforts of the United Steel Works circle to reconquer, by sponsoring Hitler's chancellorship, the famous Gelsenkirchen shares in which was embodied the control of United Steel, the key empire of German heavy industry, and which in 1932 over the protests of all big producers had been sold to the Reich by the questionable Friedrich Flick. He thus has no inkling of the game played in closest mutual co-operation by Albert Vögler, head of United Steel, Hitler's righthand man Keppler, and United Steel banker von Schroeder, who prepared the famous meeting between Hitler and Papen in von Schroeder's Cologne mansion, which led to the establishment of the Third Reich. Mr. Lochner tends to underemphasize the Nazi component in the aims of most producers, to use Hitler as a mere tool in the hands of a Papen-type cabinet, and he somewhat overestimates the significance of the tensions between Nazis and industry after their honeymoon of 1933. The fact that heavy industry, like the rest of the conservative classes, finally was disappointed about Hitler must not obscure the truth that it continued to reap the fruits of the German armament boom and that after the outbreak of the war it fought bitter internecine fights for the distribution of the spoils. There is much that is shrewd and sound in this book. But there is a chance that it will furnish German industry an opportunity to point out to the world, like Little Jack Horner, "What a good boy am I!"

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN, *Washington, D. C.*

SCHICKSALSJAHRE ÖSTERREICHS 1908–1919: DAS POLITISCHE TAGEBUCH JOSEF REDLICHS. Volume II, 1915–1919. Edited by *Fritz Fellner*. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs, 40.] (Graz, Hermann Böhlau, 1954, pp. 397, DM 24.) The second volume of the Redlich diaries fully lives up to the great expectations raised by the first (see *AHR*, July, 1954, p. 1007). Its main theme may be justly called the death agony of the monarchy, seen from the standpoint of an inside observer who never became a main actor on the political stage.

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And yet, in the summer of 1917 it seemed as if Redlich's chance had come to be entrusted with the Austrian prime ministership. His main task would have been the initiation of administrative autonomy for the Austrian nationalities. This in turn should have paved the way for a negotiated peace. German pressure in and outside of Austria led to the failure of Redlich's mission, even before it commenced. He was called to office only as minister of finance in the Lammasch cabinet at the end of October, 1918. To say that this last Austrian caretaker government had the authority to preside over the tragic disintegration process of the monarchy would be an overstatement. Yet presumably the melancholy "too little and too late" would have held just as true if Redlich had been elevated into a position of greater power and authority in 1917. Indeed, the whole volume amply bears out the contention of those historians who believe that the forces which widened the assassination of Sarajevo into a world conflagration, sealed the doom of Austria-Hungary. It is the tragedy of men of Redlich's intellectual stature that they nobly and vainly tried to struggle against the inevitability of a fate which became increasingly clear to them. Nevertheless the many shades and nuances in Redlich's charming character portraits and subtle reflections lend highly welcome color and warmth to a canvas of which the great outlines appear only all too clear. Dr. Fellner, the editor, is again to be complimented on a difficult job very competently done.

ROBERT A. KANN, *Rutgers University*

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro[1]

THE IMAGE OF AMERICA IN MAZZINI'S WRITINGS. By *Joseph Rossi.* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1954, pp. vii, 188, $3.50.) To the liberal element in America Joseph Mazzini was represented as "the apostle of the doctrines on which American institutions rested." After a study of Mr. Rossi's monograph the reader doubts the familiarity of the distinguished Italian patriot with the basic ideals of American republicanism. The author refers to Mazzini's knowledge of the founding fathers which, he admits, was "by no means overwhelming." It is odd that Mazzini's ardor for Italian liberation should not have been partially inspired by those very principles which achieved the independence of the American colonies. Mr. Rossi's book is the result of detailed research in contemporary American and foreign sources: letters, diaries, documents, newspaper accounts, and an intimate knowledge of Mazzini's *Scritti.* The book is a complement to the earlier study of Howard R. Marraro, *American Opinion on the Unification of Italy* (New York, 1932). Where Marraro viewed the complexities of Italian unification and the American reaction to its progress, Mr. Rossi has confined himself to America and Mazzini. He treats in detail Mazzinian movements in America: Young Italy, the Christian Alliance, the lecture tours of Louis Kossuth and Jessie White Mario, which are related in part in Marraro's work. He discusses Mazzini's contacts with the American diplomats, Lewis Cass, Jr., Nicholas Brown, and others. He has devoted an entire chapter to Margaret Fuller. It is somewhat of an exaggeration to state that "the friendship of Mazzini was one of the most important influences in Margaret Fuller's mature life." Her association with Mazzini was of great significance during her Italian stay, but it is to be remembered that at the time of Miss Fuller's residence in Italy she was a fully matured woman of an overwhelming intellect and a deep attachment for republican sentiment. In Margaret Fuller Mazzini should have recognized the embodiment of American philosophical and political ideology, a fact which has not been sufficiently stressed. Mr. Rossi has presented the relationship of Mazzini and America. The reader is not disappointed with the author's admirable and scholarly study but with Mazzini himself. The Italian patriot ardently longed for the emancipation of his homeland and the suppression of Austrian tyranny. America had achieved its independence through its challenge of and struggle with an oppressive regime. To Mazzini America re-

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mained a nation of financial support and not the inspiration of "government of the people, by the people, for the people," a sentiment expressed in his own *Manifesto of the European Democratic Committee to the Italians.*

LEONA ROSTENBERG, *New York, N. Y.*

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Charles Morley

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SOVIET UNION

Sergius Yakobson[1]

VISSARION BELINSKI, 1811–1848: A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF SOCIAL CRITICISM IN RUSSIA. By *Herbert E. Bowman.* [Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, XXI.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 220, $4.25.) To the western student the intellectual career of Belinski is a most perplexing phenomenon. What was the inward connection between his limitless but temporary enthusiasms for imported schools of thought, his penchant for extravagant ideals, his inherent unhappiness, his amazing influence, and the Russia of Nicholas I? What strange situation created such an admirable and yet so wretched a character? Professor Bowman's book, the first full study of Belinski in English, is essentially a study of the relationship between literature and society in the various phases of Belinski's literary criticism. Belinski started, so the analysis runs, with the exalted aesthetic idealism of Schelling, until confronted with the realism of Gogol's early works. Then, turning to Hegel, he began to take a positive view of contemporary Russia. This stage, in turn, was shattered by the appearance of Lermontov's disillusioned hero Pechorin, and Belinski, now following the French utopian socialists, evolved a new ideal of human dignity deeply at variance with Russian reality. No wonder that toward the end he was beginning to cast the creative writer ever more directly into the dubious role of reformer. A historian may derive considerable pleasure from the critical alertness of the author's literary analysis, but he will be disappointed by its narrow scope.

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He would like to have more than a "running illustration of Belinski's ideological positions" by way of an analysis of his changing conceptions of the writer's role in society. Even the somewhat broader introductory chapters and the interspersed notes on Belinski's personal affairs hardly offer all that is needed for understanding either Belinski or the origins of social criticism in Russia. In short, this book provides a subtle but tenuous thread through the baffling passageways of Belinski's intellectual career, but one is left wondering whether it reduces or increases the bafflement itself.

THEODORE H. VON LAUE, *University of California, Riverside*

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer[1]

THE ARAB WORLD: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE. By *Nejla Izzeddin*. Foreword by William Ernest Hocking. (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1953, pp. xii, 412, $6.50.) This survey of "The Arab World," with an interesting foreword by W. E. Hocking, is one of those books which become the victims of the ever-changing scene in the Middle East. Events move faster than printers and authors, and parts of the survey become outdated before the binding is put over the pages. The author, Miss N. Izzeddin, an able Arab scholar, a Druze, with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, although motivated by too much emotion and zealous partisanship, has given an able and readable account of "The Cultural Heritage" the Arabs have bequeathed, "The Arabs and the West in the Middle Ages," and presents in a series of chapters the political and social problems and structures of each of the Arab countries—Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, the Arabian peninsula, North Africa. The problem of Palestine is of course dealt with in great detail. A special chapter is devoted to "The Arab Woman" and to "The Powers in the Arab World" and in her chapters "Towards Arab Unity" and "The Greater Struggle" the author advocates the strengthening of the many common bonds which bind together the Arab world linguistically, culturally, and politically. The objective student of history and observer of political affairs cannot but disagree in many points with the author's presentation of facts and their interpretation. The real issues are somehow obscured by too many propaganda slogans. Despite these defects the book imparts valuable knowledge on an area which should become much more known to everyone interested in the problems of world politics.

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Far Eastern History

EASTERN ASIA

Hilary Conroy[1]

ELEMENTS OF CHINESE HISTORIOGRAPHY. By *Han Yu-shan.* (Hollywood, Calif., W. M. Hawley, 1955, pp. 246, $7.50.) The author of this handbook and guide is associate professor of history at the University of California at Los Angeles. By commenting briefly on eminent Chinese historians and their writings in the past 2000 years, he makes known the many types of history that were produced, and the place occupied by historians at various periods. The work differs from Charles S. Gardner's admirable *Chinese Traditional Historiography*, published in 1938, in giving numerous concrete examples—in Chinese as well as in English—of the titles, offices,

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and functions of Chinese historians. At the same time it defines hundreds of technical and descriptive terms employed in historical literature. Biographical and bibliographical information is given on some 860 historical works, ranging from ancient to recent times. The twenty-six official dynastic histories, compiled in the past twenty centuries, are conveniently analyzed, including the method of compilation, the periods covered, and the topics treated. These histories alone add up to a total of 4,052 *chüan* or chapters of which, according to the author, 62 per cent are devoted to biographies; 21 per cent to treatises on astronomy, geography, foreign relations, and a score of other topics; 11 per cent to the annals of emperors; 4 per cent to chronological tables; and only 2 per cent to noble families—showing how little class distinctions have figured in Chinese life. Many other histories tracing the development in specialized fields of knowledge are recorded, though some of these are as much treatises on the subject as they are historical documents. A minor error needs correcting: no "Union List" of Chinese local histories "enumerating 5832 editions" has been published by the Library of Congress. The list referred to is a three-volume Chinese work, *Chung-kuo ti-fang-chih tsung-lu,* compiled by Chu Shih-chia and published in Shanghai in 1935. The work published by the Library is not a union list; it represents only its own holdings. Added attractiveness is lent to this work by the inclusion of specimen pages from histories printed in the Sung period (960–1279); and line-drawn portraits of thirteen famous historians. A fine specimen of a civil service examination paper, submitted by a graduate with high honors in 1808, is also reproduced, from the author's own large collection of such papers.

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, *Washington, D. C.*

THE EMPIRE OF MIN. By *Edward H. Schafer,* Associate Professor of Oriental Languages, University of California. (Rutland, Vt., Charles E. Tuttle Company for Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1954, pp. xii, 146, $3.00.) In this monograph Dr. Schafer has brought together useful data on a small Chinese state that flourished in the first part of the tenth century in what today is Fukien Province. The disintegration of the T'ang Empire opened the way for the rise of the mighty Liao Empire in the northeast, and to the south of it for a number of territorial states whose rulers struggled for the mantle of the Son-of-Heaven. Between 907 and 960, a succession of five such states, the "Five Dynasties," claimed supreme authority. Although the country of Min was not one of them, its rulers, also, took the title of "emperor." Dr. Schafer has drawn industriously upon Chinese sources. But while he devotes separate chapters to such topics as the court, history, economy, arts, and religion, he does not place his material in any meaningful institutional frame. Recalling Max Weber's discussion of imperial China as a society headed by a managerial and educated bureaucracy, and recalling Balazs' discussion of the T'ang version of this society, we would like to know whether the state of Min, on a local scale, reproduced or modified the traditional bureaucratic and despotic order. Schafer's monograph does not answer this question. It does not illuminate the governmental order, the pattern of political or private economy, or the class structure of Min. Schafer deplores that Western scholarship has paid little attention to the period of the "Five Dynasties." True, but not as little as is suggested by his reference to one nineteen-page article by Piton and two articles, totaling twenty-eight pages, by Eberhard. Chavannes' account of the Kingdom of Wu and Yüeh, which was the northern neighbor of Min (*T'oung Pao,* XVII, 1916) covers almost as many pages as Schafer's monograph. And Wittfogel and Feng's comprehensive work on the Liao Empire discusses in several of its sections Chinese conditions at the time of the "Five Dynasties." Regrettably Schafer utilizes neither of these studies.

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However, despite its serious deficiencies, his study adds important details on a too little scrutinized period of Chinese history.

KARL A. WITTFOGEL, *Columbia University*

THE NIEN REBELLION. By *Chiang Siang-Tseh.* [University of Washington Publications on Asia.] (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1954, pp. xvi, 159, $3.50.) Publication of the results of research into the Nien Rebellion by Dr. Chiang Siang-Tseh brings us to an area of study which heretofore has had little attention. In the source materials which he has analyzed, documented, and organized we see not only the rise and fall of the rebellion but the basic fabric of Chinese society as it was at this time, in its economics, politics, and, most important, in the workings of the mind of the Chinese of the mid-nineteenth century. Origin of the Nien Rebellion, relationship of the rebellion to secret societies, and the organizations, objectives, and strength of the rebellion are all clearly given. The text has five useful maps, tables giving the names of the leaders of the rebellion, and of those leaders of the government who suppressed the rebellion. The Chinese characters are in longhand for the photo-offset printing. Most of the personal and geographical names, bibliography, and significant terms are given in romanization and Chinese, an indication of the advancement in Sinological studies since World War II. Several romanizations, due, probably, to the dialect of the author, deviate from the standard system he otherwise follows: *Cheng* for *chen, chou* for *tsou, hsien* for *hsüan, li* for *i, ping* for *pin, sun* for *hsün, hsien* for *hsuan.* The size of the letter type in the photo-offset process should perhaps have been made larger for easier reading.

YU-SHAN HAN, *University of California, Los Angeles*

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1937. In five volumes. Volume IV, THE FAR EAST. [Department of State Publication 5545.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1954, pp. iv, 911, $4.00.) Half of this volume is a continuation from Volume III of the papers relating to the "Undeclared War between Japan and China." This half is concerned first with the moves to bring about a settlement, under the heads: "The League Phase," "Preparations for the Brussels Conference," and "The Conference at Brussels, November 3–24, 1937." These papers have interest because of what they show concerning the attitudes of the various governments toward the League. They also bring out clearly the futility and the hazards of such a conference as that held at Brussels when there is an evident unwillingness to go beyond the reaffirmation of general principles previously advanced. The second half of this section contains the exchanges on such matters as the protection of American lives and property under the conditions of conduct of hostilities in China; the effect on foreign shipping of naval measures taken by China and Japan in the prosecution of the war in China; the bombing of the President Hoover by Chinese aviators; the Panay incident of December 12, 1937; and the attitude of the American government on the export of military materiel to China and the service of American citizens with the Chinese Air Force. The second half of the volume contains papers dealing with a variety of topics under consideration in American-Chinese relations. Among these are questions of economic assistance and loans, the application of tax and customs laws to Americans, and the question of resumption of negotiations over extraterritoriality. The China papers are followed by a Japan section containing papers included in the previously published two volumes on *Japan, 1931–1941.* Among these are dispatches from the embassy containing interesting comments on Japanese politics. The final section, "Siam," contains drafts of

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the 1937 treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation under negotiation between Siam and the United States, and the diplomatic exchanges leading up to its signature.

HAROLD M. VINACKE, *University of Cincinnati*

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Cecil Hobbs

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United States History

Wood Gray[1]

GENERAL

GESCHICHTE DER VEREINIGTEN STAATEN VON NORDAMERIKA: WERDEN DER WELTMACHT. By *Ernst Samhaber.* [Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, Band VIII.] (Munich, F. Bruckmann, 1954, pp. 454, DM 22.) Neither author nor publisher has specified the audience to whom this volume is addressed; it appears, however, to have been produced primarily to bring United States history to the German lay reader in a form which he will find at once readable and instructive. On the whole the book seems admirably adapted to this purpose. It is well planned and well written; and a consistent argument, centered upon a few main themes, is pursued throughout. The principal theme is American power in its historical aspects. "The freedom of the world rests today exclusively on the strength of the United States," Herr Samhaber writes as he nears the end of his story. Having thus accepted the present fact of American power as a good thing, he is able to survey the historical process which produced the power with remarkable dispassion. The American reader on the lookout for "typically German" judgments and emphases will find few pickings in this book, especially for the period before the New Deal. After 1933 the story becomes, one understands, more controversial, and the author, while seeming to search for a judicious middle ground, does not disguise his opinions. In the period of Munich, he remarks, "American policy . . . only sowed confusion." And in 1940: "Roosevelt, with his opaque policy of half promises and inadequate support, plunged his friends into misfortune." But did General Marshall, returning from his Far Eastern mission, really advise, as Samhaber states, "that China be completely abandoned"? An outstanding feature of the book is the emphasis on the sociological and economic elements in the American story. The author stresses repeatedly that, from the seventeenth century on, the winning of the West was accomplished by group activity; the idea of the state was preceded by the idea of the community, and nurtured by it. Individualism as a dominant force in American life was limited, as he sees it, to a relatively brief period after the Civil War. A major weakness of this volume is that the factual underpinning is so unreliable. Even the unwary suspects that something may be amiss when the Pilgrim Fathers start landing at Princetown, and when a

[1] Responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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preacher named Rogers from Massachusetts founds the colony of Connecticut. Slips of this sort, many of them due obviously to careless work on manuscript and proofs, abound. Until a second edition appears, the German reader will be well advised, when he wants to check up on his facts, to stick to his Brockhaus. There is no bibliography, and no historical work is mentioned or acknowledged.

PAUL R. SWEET, *Washington, D. C.*

THE AMERICAN REBELLION: SIR HENRY CLINTON'S NARRATIVE OF HIS CAMPAIGNS, 1775–1782, WITH AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS. Edited by *William B. Willcox*. [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts. No. 21.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1954, pp. li, 658, $7.50.) Sir Henry Clinton's full-dress defense of his conduct of the war in America, now published for the first time from the original manuscript in the Clements Library, is important not so much for the relatively few new significant facts it discloses about military operations as for the documented self-portrait that it furnishes. With his own pen the British commander spells out his ineptitude, his inability to get along with officers immediately superior to him or directly under his command, his suspicions, his timidity, and his fatal inertia. If one were to argue that the British lost the colonies because of mediocre leadership in the field, this document could provide substantial ammunition. As regards the two crucial campaigns of the war—Saratoga and Yorktown—the Clinton narrative is disappointing. What the general tells us about Cornwallis and Yorktown he had previously said at some length in his tedious published defenses of his conduct. His account of his role in the Burgoyne campaign is about as brief as was his military participation. Clinton points out that when Howe embarked for Philadelphia he had not left instructions to support Burgoyne, and that the first orders to that effect were dated July 30. Even though Clinton had seven thousand effective troops in New York and knew that Washington had moved against Howe, he still felt that forces Washington might have left east of the Delaware were a threat to him. "I thought it behooved me to be cautious," epitomizes his strategy. Obsessed with the need for preserving the safety of his base, Clinton abandoned his campaign to relieve Burgoyne when, as the editor points out, a hard-driving commander might have pushed on regardless of rule-book logistics. If Sir Henry's narrative substitutes special pleading for new evidence, Dr. Willcox's brilliant introduction constitutes a superb appraisal of Clinton's role in the war and of his shortcomings as a military leader, chiefly of his adherence to the policy of minimum risk, which in the long run is the riskiest policy of all. Years of labor went into deciphering Clinton's eccentric and almost illegible handwriting, and the text is buttressed by illuminating references to the Clinton Papers in the Clements Library, and to many other relevant items. Dr. Willcox's handling of the narrative as well as of the appended letters and reports in Sir Henry's files, particularly full for the latter years of the war, conforms to the highest editorial standards.

RICHARD B. MORRIS, *Columbia University*

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES INDIAN FACTORY SYSTEM, 1795–1822. By *Ora Brooks Peake*, Colorado State College of Education, Greeley, Colorado. (Denver, Colo., Sage Books, 1954, pp. 340, $5.00.) The system of government stores for the Indians was a unique experiment. Between 1795 and 1822 about thirty so-called factories were established. These factories were designed to offset foreign influences among the Indians, win their allegiance to the United States, promote peace and good will on the frontier, protect the Indians against the greed of private traders, and lessen the amount of liquor dispensed to the Indians. The story has been told and

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retold but never before in such detail as in the volume under consideration. This attractive volume encompasses a variety of materials. The reader gets a realistic sense of the buying and assembling of goods, their transportation to the factories, the work and worries of the factors, the storing, transporting, and sale of furs and other products obtained from the Indians, and of the nagging, fault-finding stream of criticism and opposition which finally led to the abolition of the factory system. Less relevant to the story, but interesting and informative, is the space devoted to the educational and religious work of the Indian Trade Office. The volume contains one map, three pictures, sixteen illegible and rather pointless reproductions of invoices and accounts, thirty-one appendixes, and a very adequate bibliography. Dr. Peake has assembled all the data necessary for a definitive treatment of the factory system. Unfortunately, the account is laborious, overwhelmed by excerpts from sources, and rather poorly structured. She erroneously says (p.3) that the whole purpose of the system was to render a service to the Indians. No table of the number, location, and duration of the factories is provided, and the map (p.10) that presumably supplies some of this information is difficult to read and contains at least one serious error. It shows a factory at St. Peter on the Minnesota River. The author probably confused St. Peter, the early name of Fort Snelling, with the modern town of St. Peter, but no factory was ever located in Minnesota. And in spite of thirty-one appendixes, there is no complete table of factors, assistants, and interpreters. Among all the causes advanced to explain the overthrow (the author calls it "failure") of the factory system, the major one—the downright selfishness of competitors—is scarcely identified. The volume is relatively, although not altogether, free from misprints and minor errors. In spite of these faults this topic scarcely deserves further study. EDGAR B. WESLEY, *Stanford University*

JUSTICE WILLIAM JOHNSON THE FIRST DISSENTER: THE CAREER AND CONSTITUTIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF A JEFFERSONIAN JUDGE. By *Donald G. Morgan*. (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1954, pp. xv, 326, $6.50.) Johnson was a justice of the Supreme Court from 1804 to 1834, the period in which so many decisive decisions were taken in that body under the leadership of Marshall. In general, Johnson followed that leadership, but he was independent enough, although not the first dissenter, to wreck Marshall's effort to preserve the appearance in the Court of unanimity expressed through the chief justice, and he dissented more frequently than any other justice of the Marshall Court. Appointed as a staunch Republican, he upheld the doctrine of implied powers. A South Carolinian, he deprecated the hysteria over the Vesey slave insurrection, declared the act for imprisoning Negro seamen unconstitutional, and fought the Nullifiers. A nationalist, Johnson came to tolerate considerable autonomy for the states. It is Mr. Morgan's view that this toleration and other new directions in Johnson's thinking were inculcated in the judge by Jefferson, through a correspondence in 1822–1823. The author attributes much of his ultimate significance to a line of opinions that ranged Johnson on the side of those who feel that government, state or federal, may act for the welfare of the individual, and hence brought him a new vogue in our own generation. This thesis is not too clearly illustrated here, but then we are inclined to agree with the great Story that Johnson's opinions lacked precision and certainty. We are inclined also to agree on occasion with John Adams, who said Johnson was restless, turbulent, and hot-headed. Altogether a paradoxical and interesting person he was. Mr. Morgan, who is associate professor of political science in Mount Holyoke College, has made an admirable book of him. The research is close; the figure is reasonably alive for one whose papers are lost; and the ancient problem of organization is not badly handled. Our excessive concentration on Marshall is here corrected,

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and we see a justice who disagreed with him, for example, in *his* excessive concentration on the sanctity of property. WILLIAM B. HAMILTON, *Duke University*

JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE: DISCIPLE TO ADVANCING TRUTH. By *Arthur S. Bolster, Jr.* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1954, pp. xii, 373, $4.50.) Of the Unitarian ministers of his day, none was better known than James Freeman Clarke (1810–1888). He wrote thirty-two books, nearly seventy-five pamphlets and tracts, and more than a thousand contributions to magazines, while for many years his sermons were regularly published in one of the Boston papers. But since he was less original than Emerson and less controversial than Parker, his career has been more quickly forgotten than theirs. Mr. Bolster's new biography is based on large quantities of personal papers, long forgotten and recently rediscovered; and within the limits the author set for himself it is a good piece of work. Yet it may be argued that those limits were far too narrow. If not a creative thinker, Clarke was still a representative one. His writings illustrate the growing influence of German thought and the process by which Transcendentalism was tamed and assimilated by Unitarianism. His *Ten Great Religions,* which went through many editions, stimulated interest in the new field of comparative religion. His confidence in "the progress of mankind onward and upward forever," against which our own generation has reacted sharply, was deeply rooted in the evolutionary optimism of the day. But Mr. Bolster makes only a gesture in the direction of analysis of Clarke's ideas—*Ten Great Religions* gets one sentence and *Self Culture* is not mentioned at all—and he does almost nothing to relate Clarke to the intellectual currents of his century. He has been so overwhelmed by the richness of detail concerning Clarke's external biography, yielded by the Clarke papers, that the drama of ideas has been neglected. In short, the most important part of the story remains untold. CONRAD WRIGHT, *Harvard Divinity School*

THE JOHN H. HAUBERG HISTORICAL ESSAYS. Compiled and Edited by *O. Fritiof Ander.* [Augustana Library Publications, No. 26.] (Rock Island, Ill., Denkmann Memorial Library, Augustana College, 1954, pp. xii, 70, $2.50.) This little volume, under Fritiof Ander's competent editorship, is no conventional tribute to the zealous Illinois local historian whom it honors. His praise is sung, not in eulogy but through the quality of the half dozen essays that claim the pages of the book. Several are interpretations of wide interest, notably Paul Angle's appraisal of the significant contributions made in recent years by professional historians to understanding of "The Changing Lincoln," and Carl Wittke's sure-handed analysis of the impact of "The German Forty-eighters" upon American life. Alongside these interpretations is an account by Edward Everett Dale of "Pioneer Speech," presenting with the light Dalean touch many pungent and picturesque illustrations. In straightforward factual vein are Harry E. Pratt's narrative of "Abraham Lincoln in the Black Hawk War" and Paul W. Gates's documented study of "Weyerhaeuser and Chippewa Logging History"—which incidentally notes the surprising omission from the *Dictionary of American Biography* of Frederick Weyerhaeuser. A brief and sensitively written profile of Mr. Hauberg by Conrad Bergendoff closes the volume. This book is a delight to read. I agree with Merle Curti, who in his foreword commends both the scholarship of the contributors and the "freshness and joyousness" of their writing.
THEODORE C. BLEGEN, *University of Minnesota*

AFTER SARATOGA: THE STORY OF THE CONVENTION ARMY. By *William M. Dabney.* [University of New Mexico Publications in History, No. 6.] (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1954, pp. 90, $1.00.) This volume fills a real

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need. The fate of Burgoyne's troops after their general signed a "convention" with Gates, by which technically the army neither surrendered nor capitulated, has puzzled many people including professional historians. Except for an occasional article, fragmentary accounts in books, and one unpublished dissertation at the University of Michigan, the Convention Army has received scant attention. Now in a brief monograph that includes notes, an appendix, and a bibliography (but unfortunately no index), Mr. Dabney has made available the history of that army in its long march from the Hudson to Boston and thence to prison camp in Virginia. Congress ultimately repudiated the convention and permitted none of the troops to return to Europe until after the war. What happened in the interim to those officers and men, British and German, makes an intriguing story that is well told in this little gem of scholarship. WILLARD M. WALLACE, *Wesleyan University*

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES AND HIS AMERICA. By *Harry Barnard.* (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1954, pp. 606, $6.00.) Rutherford B. Hayes's reputation has suffered from political obscurity, the disputed presidential election of 1876, and lack of a critical appraisal of his career. Harry Barnard's biography, the first in almost a generation, seeks to correct these deficiencies but successfully meets only the last of them. In spite of Barnard's diligent research and excellent writing, Hayes remains almost as obscure as before. The chief reason for writing a life of Hayes is that he was President, and when the author devotes only 86 of the 523 pages of text to an analysis of Hayes's presidency he helps to foster the idea that Hayes was a colorless and mediocre chief executive. The author also fails to change the traditional view, of historians and laymen alike, that the four months of the disputed election outweighed the four years in the White House. On the contrary, Barnard lends credence again to this belief by devoting more space to the election than to the presidency. Barnard goes over the familiar explanations for Hayes's obscurity and difficulties—his own ambivalence, his concept of the presidency, the clouded conditions under which he entered the White House, and Democratic control of the Congress for most of his administration. In addition, and with considerable emphasis, he introduces a new explanation for Hayes's behavior: the psychological effect of his yearning for a father and of the purely feminine influence surrounding Hayes throughout his early and formative years. This psychological factor is also treated at greater length than the account of the presidential years. Mr. Barnard has given us a much-needed fresh interpretation of Hayes's career, but it is disappointing on a number of counts, only a few of which can be mentioned here. Barnard had a real opportunity to make a serious revision in American historiography when he came to the problem of the removal of the troops from the South. The public in 1877 and for many years to come linked the recall of the troops with part of an agreement that permitted Hayes to become President. While historians have had to revise their thinking on this score since the appearance of C. Vann Woodward's *Reunion and Reaction* in 1951, they have not yet been able to explain the reasons that prompted Hayes to take the troops out of the South, for the argument of the withholding of the army appropriations has not been any more valid than the bargain at Wormley's Hotel. In view of the fact that the explanations for Hayes's motives are to be found in the various sources used for this biography, it is regrettable that Barnard did not take the opportunity to clear up the matter. Two other faults mar Barnard's work. He relies too heavily upon Woodward's interpretation of the disputed election which overemphasizes the Texas Pacific "deal." Barnard also fails to come to grips with perhaps the most important aspect of Hayes's presidency—his attempt to create a strong and winning Republican party in the South. Hayes worked valiantly to ingratiate himself and the Republican party with

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the white South, and his attempt reversed previous Republican policy in the South and inaugurated a series of efforts by Republican leaders to break up the Democratic South. The importance of this problem, then and now, would seem to justify a fuller and more adequate treatment than is here accorded it.

VINCENT P. DE SANTIS, *University of Notre Dame*

BLACK MOSES: THE STORY OF MARCUS GARVEY AND THE UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION. By *Edmund David Cronon.* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1955, pp. xvii, 278, $5.00.) Marcus Garvey, a pudgy black Jamaican, has been acclaimed as one of the three greatest Negro leaders in the United States. In this reviewer's judgment, Garvey exercised less influence on American Negroes but more on those in Africa, the West Indian colonies, and Latin America than did either Frederick Douglass or Booker T. Washington. Professor Cronon has very effectively integrated an objective appraisal of the man with the forces that made possible his meteoric rise and catastrophic fall. His main compulsion, perhaps—hatred of white and colored men—stemmed from the class and color inequities he witnessed in his native island, Central and South American countries, and the United States. It was made more consuming by the withering attacks of such light-colored intellectuals as W. E. B. Du Bois and James Weldon Johnson and of Robert S. Abbott, owner of the Chicago *Defender*. Garvey arrived in New York in 1916, an opportune time to launch his demagogic program of black chauvinism under his flamboyantly messianic leadership. Booker T. Washington had recently died. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League evoked little enthusiasm among the Negro masses. Increasingly large numbers of Negro migrants from the South found no utopia in the North. Race riots after the "war to make the world safe for democracy" increased Negro disillusionment and resentment. For some time Garvey filled the vacuum and stridently rode the crest of discontent. But his Universal Negro Improvement Association and his steamship companies foundered upon the shoals of his own incompetence in business affairs, his egomania, the incompetence and skullduggery of some of his associates, white and colored. His vision of himself as provisional president of Africa was naively premature. He nonetheless frightened the white world as no other Negro in the United States had done. In 1923 he was sentenced to prison for using the mails with fraudulent intent. Deported after his release in 1927, he never regained his pristine fame and glory. He died in England on June 10, 1940. He told a friend that "'Mussolini copied Fascism from me but the Negro reactionaries sabotaged it'" (p. 199). He opposed trade unions, publicly wooed the Ku Klux Klan, and favored Bilbo's plan for the deportation of American Negroes to Africa. In evaluating Garvey's role in engendering a powerful feeling of race pride, stimulating the Negro renaissance and current African nationalism, the author might well have given more consideration to the part played by the NAACP and the Pan African Congresses.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, *Howard University*

THE REPUTATION OF THE AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN. By *Sigmund Diamond.* [Studies in Entrepreneurial History.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1955, pp. 209, $4.00.) Short-term changes in American attitudes toward business leaders appear to have depended largely on political reform movements or swings of the business cycle. But Mr. Diamond finds that, running through these fluctuations over the last century and a quarter, there were also long-term changes. His method of arriving at this conclusion was to read the obituary articles and editorial comments at the death of six very wealthy men: Stephen Girard, John Jacob Astor, Cornelius

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Vanderbilt, J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, and Henry Ford. For each of the first three millionaires, he examined between 166 and 248 newspapers and magazines; for the last three he was able to include more magazines and also trade-union publications and company house organs. In covering the death of Henry Ford Mr. Diamond looked at 672 publications of all these types. The most important conclusion from this broad research is that there has been a change from viewing outstanding business success as the result of the inner virtues of the individual to seeing it as inherent in our type of society. Hence to attack successful businessmen is to attack the American system. The entrepreneurs have, according to this argument, become like the emperors of Rome or the Tudor kings the leading symbols of patriotism. Girard's wealth, for example, was attributed primarily to his personal virtues of ability and hard work, Ford's to his being a normal American who seized opportunities open to all. There are some weaknesses in Mr. Diamond's type of evidence which could not be overcome. Most editors, being businessmen themselves, are not necessarily representative of public opinion regarding business. In the case of the first three millionaires, left-wing press opinion is lacking, whereas in that of the last three it is considerably used. In general, no typologies or formulas for classification of periodicals will hold over the 125-year period, and hence we are getting the opinions of editors and writers whose own position in society was continually changing. Less pervasive weaknesses are the lack of obituaries on any rich man between Vanderbilt in 1877 and J. Pierpont Morgan in 1913, and the occasional introduction of material not written at the time of the subject's death. But it is seldom that a historian can find a really defensible sample, or material that does not contain unmeasurable biases. Mr. Diamond has made an intelligent and well-written interpretation of his material as he found it. His book is a valuable addition to the increasing literature on the businessman in American culture.

THOMAS C. COCHRAN, *University of Pennsylvania*

THE PARCHMENT PEACE: THE UNITED STATES SENATE AND THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE, 1921–1922. By *John Chalmers Vinson*. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1955, pp. xi, 259, $4.50.) The major contribution of this brief but interesting monograph is the further demonstration it provides of that unhappy alliance of idealism and irresponsibility that so generally marked the American approach to international affairs throughout the 1920's. For as Professor Vinson so clearly brings out, the Senate at this time—and it certainly reflected prevailing public opinion—hailed the Washington Conference treaties as an epochal contribution to world peace, and at the same time did everything possible in approving them to make assurance doubly sure that the United States assumed no obligations whatsoever for maintaining peace. Nothing could more aptly illustrate the vast changes that have marked American policy in recent years than a comparison of the current attitude toward international responsibilities and that shown toward "the parchment peace" of 1921–1922. What Professor Vinson has done, more specifically, is to trace the role of the Senate in helping to bring about the Washington Conference, analyze the views of its members toward disarmament and policy in eastern Asia, and discuss the debates on approval of the treaties. He has largely confined himself in treating of senatorial attitudes toward the conference results, however, to consideration of the Four Power Treaty. The core of this study, indeed, has already appeared in an article in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (XXXIX [September, 1952], 303–14), and the new material in the monograph, generally dealing with the background of the disarmament movement, does not add greatly to what has already been published on this topic. Professor Vinson does not make any real attempt to con-

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sider the Washington Conference as a whole, and both the Five Power and the Nine Power Treaty are almost ignored. Although from this point of view he has not completely fulfilled the promise of his title in the light of the close inter-relationship, so often asserted by the United States, of the Washington Conference treaties as a whole, one point may be made in his defense. It was the Four Power Treaty which led to the real debate over the political implications of the conference accords and became the principal point of attack for those bitter-end isolationists who continued to insist that the treaty was in fact an alliance and a dangerous restriction on the nation's freedom of action. FOSTER RHEA DULLES, *Ohio State University*

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF A HAPPY LIBERAL: A BIOGRAPHY OF MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE. By *Kenneth E. Trombley.* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1954, pp. xvii, 270, $4.00.) The subject of this biography, as an important conservationist, is fully aware and has many times proclaimed the necessity of preserving the topsoil, lest disastrous consequences follow. In the realm of preserving manuscripts and of carefully examining available materials, both Morris Llewellyn Cooke and the author, a journalist friend, appear to be guilty of poor "conservation" practices. Cooke apparently rarely kept correspondence, though he did collect published material by and about himself. The author, relying heavily on Cooke's memory through interviews and questionnaires, very superficially skims the surface of a constructive and important career. Morris Llewellyn Cooke, an engineer with a social conscience and a disciple of Frederick W. Taylor, the father of scientific management, started his public career on the municipal level as director of public works in 1912, fighting the privileged utility companies that were partially responsible for corruption in Philadelphia. His most recent accomplishment was in 1950 as chairman of President Truman's Water Resources Policy Commission (whose work and report are barely discussed). In between he held a variety of jobs. As a technically trained person who could think in terms of the public interest, Cooke has talents that progressive administrators on all governmental levels did not ignore. But his most important contribution was as a trouble shooter for F. D. R.—as the first director of the Rural Electrification Administration, as the author of several reports on conservation, as a member of small but important defense and wartime committees, and finally as a diplomat in Mexico and Brazil. A careful examination of his career could have cast much light on some of the inner recesses of the New Deal as well as directed attention to one of the more important, but sorely neglected, issues of recent American history—conservation. Though the author's confusion with the word "liberal" is readily apparent, and though he relies heavily on long quotes, the book is easily read. Neither footnotes nor a bibliography is provided.
RICHARD LOWITT, *Connecticut College*

ADMIRAL KIMMEL'S STORY. By *Husband E. Kimmel.* (Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1955, pp. xvi, 208, $3.75.) As a poignant story of a sorely tried and shabbily treated public servant, this slender volume is of absorbing interest. As a new and arresting contribution to the question of the Pearl Harbor disaster, it is of little value to historians. Five of the nine chapters are taken almost verbatim from testimony offered to the joint congressional committee in January, 1946, and have long been in print. They deal with the material readiness of the Pacific Fleet in 1941, the orders and information given its commander, the significant data withheld from him, and the first investigations of his case. The remaining four chapters are concerned with the author's long fight to make public evidence that could not be released in wartime, with Admiral William H. Standley's scathing comments on the proceedings of the

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Roberts Commission, with the letters of vilification and encouragement the admiral received after December 7, and with alleged prewar secret commitments in the Far East. Because its contents were written at different times and for different purposes, the book is repetitious and badly organized. Minor slips and unclear references abound. There is no index and no evidence Admiral Kimmel has studied the writings of other historians. He concentrates upon his problem and treats it in a vacuum. Admiral Kimmel believes that if he had known what officials in Washington had gleaned from decoded intercepts, the Japanese raiders would have been repulsed and perhaps defeated. Since his superiors were intelligent and normally communicative, he attributes their failure to keep him properly informed to some higher authority. He concludes that President Roosevelt was determined to enter the war through the Pacific backdoor, to maneuver Japan into firing the first shot; and, therefore, he purposely exposed Pearl Harbor to a successful attack. Like others who have reached the same conclusion, the admiral presents no evidence, only deductions. It is one thing to agree, as historians must, that Admiral Kimmel was made a scapegoat and that wartime necessities compelled him to undergo a deeply painful and largely undeserved punishment. It is something else again to regard him as the victim of a malign plot, hatched by those who, having tried vainly to goad Japan into war, intentionally jeopardized men, ships, and even the nation's security in the Pacific. This reviewer finished the book with respect for the author, sympathy for his ordeal, and regret that he had chosen to state his case in this way.

RICHARD W. LEOPOLD, *Northwestern University*

HAWAII UNDER ARMY RULE. By *J. Garner Anthony*. [Stanford Books in World Politics.] (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1955, pp. x, 203, $5.00.) This is not a definitive work nor was it intended to be. The author, a Honolulu lawyer who was Territorial attorney general when Hawaii was under army rule, is frankly partisan. Inasmuch as his main theme, to which all else is subordinated, is whether military tribunals have the right to try civilians for offenses unrelated to military security, his primary concern is "The Hawaiian Judiciary under Army Rule." Though he points out that there was "never anything resembling disloyalty, civil disorder, or misconduct on the part of the civil population which justified the proclamation of martial law," his procedure is that of the advocate making the best possible case for his client—which is more often the courts than the people. At times Mr. Anthony is very persuasive and where he had personal knowledge of the events of which he writes he makes a definite contribution. But when he departs from his firsthand account of law enforcement, of military government in the courts and the cases where habeas corpus was at issue, he is often guilty of oversimplification and omission. There is no case for the opposition. Nevertheless, Mr. Anthony makes it possible for Americans to note how the army gained control in Hawaii and how that control was used—and abused. The military governor not only made the decrees, he interpreted and enforced them. Only after the war did the United States Supreme Court find that under the circumstances military trials of civilians had been unconstitutional. The author's dictum is that this may "serve as a warning for the future that the seizure of a civil government by the military authorities in the absence of invasion or rebellion will not receive the sanction of the highest court in the land." The book is not attractively made; most of the seventy-three pages of documents need a magnifying glass to read; the text is documented but there is no formal bibliography; and the three-page index is inadequate.

CHARLES H. HUNTER, *University of Hawaii*

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LEYTE: THE RETURN TO THE PHILIPPINES. By *M. Hamlin Cannon.* [United States Army in World War II. The War in the Pacific, Volume V.] (Washington, Department of the Army, 1954, pp. xvi, 420, $6.75.) The battle for Leyte was won less than a week after the date originally scheduled for its beginning. December 20, 1944, was the day on General MacArthur's timetable for the assault to open. Moved ahead two months, largely on the advices of Admiral Nimitz' naval intelligence, American victory was so clearly established within sixty days that Japanese General Yamashita, commanding the 14th Area Army, notified 35th Army Commander Suzuki on Christmas Day that he had written off the Leyte campaign as a loss. Not only Leyte was lost, we know now, but Japan. Costly fighting was to continue in the Philippines. Iwo Jima was still to come, and bloody Okinawa, but in Tokyo the top imperial advisers were discussing ways and means to bring the war to a close. Six months later the emperor himself importuned the Soviet government as a neutral to receive a peace delegation headed by Prince Konoye. Moscow curtly declined and treacherously kept Japan's desperation a secret from the Allies, and so the end of the road opened by General MacArthur in the Philippines was not reached until Russia was astride the other end, with the blood money extracted at Yalta safely in pocket. Leyte, then, was the battle which won the war although not ending it. Actually it was more than a battle; it was a small war in itself. The naval phases—on the sea, under it, and above it—if ever detailed as comprehensively as Mr. Cannon presents the army's campaigns, would make a book of comparable size. It will be, however, a less arduous assignment than that of the author of *Leyte: The Return to the Philippines,* who has had to credit the parts played by armies, divisions, regiments, battalions, and companies of the contending forces. He has written factual history, not a military critique nor yet journalism, in text as concentrated and nutritious, albeit as flavorless, as emergency rations. This is a soldier's history, as, under the auspices, it should be. The historian's history of Leyte, which will have to describe and evaluate the interdependence not only of all the branches of the services employed but also of the dominant personalities involved, is yet to come and that probably not soon. WALTER KARIG, *Alexandria, Virginia*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

KNICKERBOCKER BIRTHDAY: A SESQUI-CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1804–1954. By *R. W. G. Vail,* Director of the Society. (New York, New-York Historical Society, 1954, pp. xix, 547, $6.00.) There is pride in these pages, a justifiable pride in the record of a great institution, a pride in the city of New York, a pride in the *noblesse* of the "rich, well-born and able," so many of whom have belonged to the New-York Historical Society. The early years are a familiar story: lack of money, lack of space, lack of public appreciation. Then after thirty-four years came the early moves to win public support: a lecture series, the local observance of the semicentennial of the Washington inaugural, sociables, great collectors, successful money raisers, and maturity for an institution which in its collections, in its six-hundred-odd publications, and in its recent wooing of the public—young as well as old—to its portals to learn of heritage, has contributed notably to the advancement and dissemination of American history, national as well as local. The author can write with power and effectiveness, as witness the opening passages of Pintard fantasy and the contemporary attests to the soporific effects of mid-century lectures. Yet this book has curious features. It is hardly written in a vacuum, yet the attempts to place the development of the society in its historical setting produces a mere recitation of important but disconnected and unrelated events of national importance. In effect, at the beginning of every subchapter the reader is forced to inspect the potpourri of a good Victorian cabinet of historical curiosities. The author is well aware that individuals shape the history of any institution at any particular period. Yet his chosen organization of material, president by president, brings the narrative to a series of halts, grinding because they are for the most part artificial. Worse, it buries the contributions of other leaders on the board and, most importantly, those of the staff in utter obscurity. One gets the impression, jarred a bit by two specific credits to Mr. Vail's distinguished predecessor, that the presidents did all the work. One's curiosity is aroused by the fact that though the invalid octogenarian president, Albert Gallatin, was unable to attend many meetings, the society was greatly enriched in collections and exchequer and gained over 1000 new members during his seven-year administration. Yet, his teammates remain largely anonymous. The cozy atmosphere created by consistent use of the first person plural (and possessive) strengthens an early impression that the book is written for the members, not for the general public. Certain landmarks in the history of the society are themselves landmarks in the evolution of this type of institution. The remarkable publication program; the early trade of natural history specimens to the Lyceum of Natural History in return for the papers of the United States Military and Philosophical Society; the support given the appropriations which started O'Callaghan's *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* and the *Journals of the New York Provincial Congress;* the promotion of the idea which became the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the contributions of specialists like William Sawitzky, made their mark not only on the New-York Historical Society but on its sister institutions throughout the land. This is a happy addition to the small but growing shelf of histories of our major historical societies. When many more monographs have been added, some one will surely attempt a genuine assessment of the role of the historical society in American culture and intellectual history.

CLIFFORD L. LORD, *State Historical Society of Wisconsin*

THE HISTORY OF THE NEW YORK CITY LEGISLATURE. By *Frederick Shaw.* [Columbia Studies in the Social Sciences, No. 581.] (New York, Columbia Uni-

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versity Press, 1954, pp. vi, 300.) This work is essentially a study of an institution. It is useful as defining one of the pieces which comprise the municipal puzzle which is the great American city. The period covered is 1898–1949, or the first fifty years of Greater New York. For the most part it makes dismal reading. Until the advent of proportional representation in 1936 the role of the municipal legislature was largely perfunctory, the docile creature of the party machine. The important decisions were made either in the "invisible government" behind the scenes or by the mayor and the Board of Estimate. The typical alderman was a district politician, a henchman of the boss, whose function it was to keep the maximum number of voters in his bailiwick happy and loyal to the party. Some interesting data are presented to show how little the Board of Aldermen really influenced appropriations. With the coming of proportional representation in 1936, the caliber of the legislators improved greatly. Yet the really effective power remained as before—either with the mayor and Board of Estimate or the Democratic party machine. For brief periods the city council discussed and decided important issues. The larger constituencies and the lessened party machine control which accompanied proportional representation brought a considerable number of able persons into the council. But, as the author so well remarks, it is administration far more than legislation that determines the quality and achievements of a municipal government. The New York City Charter gave the mayor a great opportunity, and a mayor like La Guardia took full advantage of it. Even the basic financial responsibility for budget belonged to the mayor and the Board of Estimate. Within limits, the book is a workmanlike job. One could wish, though, for more of what light the author might have shed upon certain questions which have for many decades baffled students of municipal government. Why has the political machine persisted? Is the recent undeniable improvement in the tone and standards of municipal government attributable to a higher civic sense, to a better charter, to the imperious necessities of contemporary administrative problems, or to what? The more profound aspects of municipal history have been largely bypassed.

ERNEST S. GRIFFITH, *Library of Congress*

A HISTORY OF THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. By *R. Gordon Hoxie, et al.* [The Bicentennial History of Columbia University.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1955, pp. xi, 326, $4.50.) Writing the history of an educational unit which is itself part of a larger institution is a difficult task whether undertaken by a person or a group. It is still more difficult if the span of the writers' association with their assignment has been brief and the sources are necessarily college catalogues or trustees' minutes. To breathe the breath of life into that kind of material requires a magic touch given to few in any generation. The group of younger staff members who were assigned the task of writing the history of the departments that make up "The Faculty of Political Science" in Columbia University have done their conscientious best and the result shows a group of scholars in history, political science, economics, and allied departments that in consistent group eminence for the last half century can be matched by no other American university. Professor R. Gordon Hoxie, biographer of Professor John W. Burgess, is author of the historical survey from the beginning of the faculty by Professor Burgess in 1880 to the present. There can be only praise for the way he has discharged his task and paid overdue credit to the indomitable will and vision of this Civil War veteran. He uncovers in Samuel B. Ruggles that *rara avis,* a trustee who knew what it took to make Columbia a university and picked Burgess. He reveals a more than usually bull-headed law dean who had to be outlived. Later it helped mightily to have a president like Seth Low ready to use his private fortune

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when the budget was tight. After Burgess as a builder I would rank Professor E. R. A. Seligman. This first section of 150 pages is really enough. The chapters on the several departments vary in merit and repeat, beginning always with Burgess. They could have been rigidly edited without loss. There is a table of the names of all who have served in the faculty of political science. It is a bead roll in the rise in America of history and the social sciences, in teaching, research, and service.

GUY STANTON FORD, *Washington, D. C.*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

DR. J. G. M. RAMSEY: AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND LETTERS. Edited by *William B. Hesseltine.* (Nashville, Tennessee Historical Commission, 1954, pp. xvi, 367, $5.00.) This volume will be welcomed by students of American history and by students of American historiography, for Dr. Ramsey not only made history as a leading citizen of East Tennessee for more than half a century but also found time to write a volume on the history of his state and to carry on an interesting correspondence with Lyman C. Draper, the founder of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. As a staunch Calvinist Dr. Ramsey had no place in his life for idleness; his days were full and his activities touched almost every phase of life including medicine, education, religion, agriculture, transportation, banking, politics, war, and literature. This volume throws light on all these topics but especially on the last two. The discussion of transportation will interest readers concerned with modern Tennessee Valley problems; they will find that many of these are old problems indeed. Unlike most East Tennesseeans Dr. Ramsey was not a Unionist when the Civil War came; instead, as Professor Hesseltine points out in his preface, he was a Southern aristocrat bound to the land of Dixie by his politics, his economic interests, and "his whole emotional nature." Consequently he was bitterly critical of Yankees, both civilian and military. At the outbreak of the war he was appointed a Confederate treasury agent and over a four-year period disbursed some fifty million dollars for the Southern government. He also served as an army surgeon, and whenever his treasury duties permitted he cared for battle-wounded Confederates. The war brought grief and economic ruin to Dr. Ramsey and his family. Of two sons who fought in the Confederate army one was killed. "Mecklenburg," his plantation mansion at the headwaters of the Tennessee River, was burned, and eventually his wife and daughters fled from the state and found refuge in North Carolina. Not until 1872 did Dr. Ramsey and his family return to Knoxville. Professor Hesseltine has brought together in this volume valuable documents from two widely separated depositories. The autobiography, which brings Dr. Ramsey's life story to the year 1870, is from the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library in Knoxville. The letters to Draper, found in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, cover another decade and in addition supplement the autobiography at several important points. On the whole Professor Hesseltine has done an excellent piece of editing. He has furnished a stimulating preface and numerous explanatory notes. He has taken certain liberties in rearranging portions of the autobiography and in modernizing spelling and capitalization which clearly increase the readability of the volume. Some critics may disapprove these changes as undesirable alterations of original documents as well as of the portrait of Dr. Ramsey. The insertion of a

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few dates would have helped the reader to keep the chronology straight and certainly a map would have been most welcome.

BRAINERD DYER, *University of California, Los Angeles*

CONFEDERATE LETTERS OF JOHN W. HAGAN. Edited by *Bell Irvin Wiley,* Professor of History, Emory University. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1954, pp. 55, $1.50.)

REBEL PRIVATE, FRONT AND REAR. By *William Andrew Fletcher.* With a Preface by *Bell Irvin Wiley.* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1954, pp. xvii, 162, $3.75.) These accounts by two Confederate infantrymen who fought at the front lines, one as a private and the other as a sergeant, afford the reader of general histories a different perspective of military events in the Civil War. Fletcher recalled his experiences some forty years after they occurred, while Hagan's story results from a chronological arrangement of some of his war letters to his wife and relatives. Although Fletcher saw more action while attached to the Fifth Texas Regiment, a part of Hood's famous Texas brigade, and later to the Eighth Texas Cavalry, he and Hagan, unknown to each other, shared in the Atlanta campaign. Hagan served with the Twenty-ninth Georgia Volunteer Infantry from the first year of the war, but his fighting was largely confined to the battles in this campaign. Both men were captured in 1864, but there the similarity in their experiences ends. Fletcher escaped and after great difficulty rejoined his unit to serve out the last days of the war with General Johnston. Hagan remained in prison until a month before Lee's surrender. Superficially the two men differed in background and character. Hagan, a farmer, married, father of one child, and a little older than Fletcher, was a sober individual who took his army and family responsibilities very seriously. Fletcher, a carpenter and single, seemed a little easier going. He fought with the *élan* and resourcefulness of a person who enjoys a good scrap. Fundamentally they were alike, for they both represented that hard core of resistance of the plain people of the South which explains much about the nature of the war. Optimistic, uncomplaining, and loyal, they fought the Yankee with surprisingly little rancor but with deadly efficiency. Though devoid of the literary qualities of Fletcher's memoirs, Hagan's letters furnish a truer index of a soldier's reactions to his experiences. EDWIN B. CODDINGTON, *Lafayette College*

RECONSTRUCTION AT SEWANEE: THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH AND ITS FIRST ADMINISTRATION, 1857–1872. By *Arthur Benjamin Chitty, Jr.* (Sewanee, Tenn., University Press, 1954, pp. 206.) Ante-bellum planning, announcements of program, hard-headed as well as idealistic educational thinking of Episcopal Bishops Otey, Polk, and Elliott, leading to the prospective founding of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee—all this was frustrated and delayed by the Civil War. The zeal and devotion of Bishop Quintard, "the refounder," saw the revival and actual opening of "Sewanee" in 1868; and for the next few years supported by the ten "owning dioceses" of the Episcopal Church in the South, the college and seminary prospered to a degree, despite unpropitious times for higher learning in the Reconstruction South and in the face of a financial struggle. Mr. Chitty has written a charming little account, sympathetic but not uncritical and fitted well into the larger regional and national picture, of the five influences (the Oxonian, the military, the classical, the Southern, and the Episcopal) which have shaped the modern "Sewanee."

OLLINGER CRENSHAW, *Washington and Lee University*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

WEST TO OHIO. By *Alta Harvey Heiser.* (Yellow Springs, Ohio, Antioch Press, 1954, pp. ix, 219, $3.00.) This little volume tells a bit of the story of the early years of Cincinnati and environs, including Hamilton, with particular emphasis upon John Cleves Symmes and his son-in-law, William Henry Harrison, and their families. While the book lacks organization and apparent purpose, it contains important items of local social and economic history and a considerable amount of interesting family gossip. JAMES H. RODABAUGH, *Ohio Historical Society*

HISTORY OF THE IRISH IN WISCONSIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Sister M. Justille McDonald,* of the Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1954, pp. ix, 324, $3.50.) Despite the importance of the Irish in the history of American immigration, comparatively little of a scholarly nature is available for this significant segment of the American population. The present study, a doctoral dissertation of the Catholic University of America, is a sample of the kind of investigation which must be made for other areas before a definitive history of the Irish in America can be written. It is a thorough piece of work, loaded with facts drawn from newspapers, the papers of some of the leading political leaders of Wisconsin, and above all, from a painstaking analysis of the manuscript sources for the censuses from 1840 to 1870 to be found in the National Archives. The author is to be commended not only for her exhaustive study of population statistics but also for the scholarly caution and restraint which she shows in evaluating the influence of the Irish in Wisconsin. After a brief discussion of the causes of Irish immigration to Wisconsin, the author proceeds to a detailed study of Irish settlement, and the occupations of Irishmen, virtually township by township and county by county. First drawn to the frontier state by employment in the lead mines, on railroads, and in lumber camps, the Irish eventually became more permanent settlers in the rural areas and in the cities. In the rural sections, many of the Celts were slowly crowded out by the "peaceful penetration" of the Teutons. Excellent population maps and many pages of tables testify to a prodigious amount of research in the census records. Two chapters deal with the Irish in Wisconsin politics, and here one encounters the more familiar story of their allegiance to the Democratic party and the rather ineffective efforts of the Republicans to win their support. Both parties encountered the troublesome problem of nativism, and both played on Irish Anglophobia, on such issues as Fenianism, Home Rule, and the tariff, in their efforts to bait and hold Irish votes. The author's discussion, in this connection, of the many instances of friction between Irish and German Catholics, Lutherans and radical freethinkers is especially interesting, and shows that nationality, language, and religious issues were touchy problems for the leaders of both parties. The chapter on the religious and social life of the Wisconsin Irish reveals the close connection of practically all Irish activities—total abstinence societies, the Hibernians, literary, dramatic, musical, and benevolent organizations—with their church. The author discusses the relation of the schools question to the larger struggle over the "Americanization" of

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the church in the United States. The line between public and parochial schools apparently was not so sharply drawn in earlier days, and some prominent Irish Catholics in Wisconsin defended the Bennett Law, which created such a furor in the early 1890's over private schools and the use of a foreign language for purposes of instruction.

CARL WITTKE, *Western Reserve University*

MATTHEW HALE CARPENTER: WEBSTER OF THE WEST. By *E. Bruce Thompson,* Professor of History in Baylor University. (Madison, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1954, pp. viii, 335, $4.50.) Most people know little, if anything, about Matt Carpenter. But during the Reconstruction era he was a conspicuous figure, especially so while representing Wisconsin in the United States Senate (1869–1875, 1879–1881). To resurrect the unruly and brilliant Carpenter from oblivion, Mr. Thompson was confronted with two distinct difficulties. They were the chore of excavating material, since Carpenter left no set of papers to posterity, and a problem in interpretation, for Carpenter was "one of the most perplexing figures in the reconstruction era." The author has proved equal to this double task. The result, especially in his treatment of Matt's senatorial career, is a well-documented, well-reasoned, and well-written book, a valuable addition to the Reconstruction picture. Young, Vermont-born (1824) Carpenter was already a well-trained lawyer when he arrived in Wisconsin in 1848. He began practice in Beloit but later moved to Milwaukee. By the time he entered the Senate (1869), his pleading before the United States Supreme Court had earned him recognition "as one of the most eminent constitutional lawyers in the nation." Although Carpenter became identified with the Radical Republicans, because he generally voted with them on strictly political matters, he often talked and voted like an old-time Democrat. At times he was a courageous battler for justice; at times he was an opportunist and an apologist for corruption. "He had no sense of mission; he lived in and for the present." But he did seem to be deeply devoted to the "present," in so far as it conformed to his legalistic interpretation of the Constitution. In the Senate Carpenter often utilized his remarkable oratorical and legal talents to defend "the antiquated doctrines of decentralization and strict construction." Though he was fighting a lost cause, his colleagues listened respectfully, recognizing a defense of the Constitution unsurpassed since the days of Calhoun and Webster.

HORACE SAMUEL MERRILL, *University of Maryland*

BUSINESS WITHOUT BOUNDARY: THE STORY OF GENERAL MILLS. By *James Gray.* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1954, pp. xiii, 343, $4.75.) When executives of a business decide to have a history of their firm written, they have to make up their minds at the same time what sort of a reading public they want to reach. Should the projected history be produced for employees only or for employees, customers, and consumers of the firm's products? Should any attempt be made to produce a thorough, objective study that would help to answer questions asked by economic and business historians? Managers of General Mills apparently came to the conclusion that they wanted a semipopular book that would highlight the outstanding achievements of the corporation during the first twenty-five years of its existence (1928–1953). To write the history of their business they chose a professor of English at the University of Minnesota. James Gray has given General Mills men what they wanted. He has written a well-organized, clearly expressed exposition of the beginnings of the company and of its remarkable growth since its formation in 1928. The book is eminently readable, graced with many mellifluous phrases, especially in connection with characterizations of individuals. Seven chapters are devoted to the history of the Washburn-Crosby mills prior to 1928 and one to the other three

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main entrants into General Mills, Inc. The remaining fourteen chapters deal with developments of the first quarter century of the large company. Those chapters include discussion of many subjects usually covered by the economic and business historian; advertising, research, depression policies, relations with the federal government in war and peace, employee relations, public relations, diversification of product, and changes in the organization of the firm all are accorded space. Effective illustrations enliven the text. There are no footnotes, though a three-page essay at the end of the book points to sources used and graciously gives thanks for help received by the author. Nevertheless, specialists in economic and business history, not to mention some of wider interests, will be disappointed in Professor Gray's book. The author is a narrator, not an analytical historian. Among the most effective chapters are those entitled "The Story of Wheaties" and "The Life and Times of Betty Crocker." Sections on employee relations and on organization of the firm are distinctly impressionistic. The research program of General Mills is discussed in thirty-two pages of informative prose, but the author gives inadequate recognition to the fact that emphasis on research has become quite common among American corporate enterprises. Financial policies are given almost no attention, and the student who desires tabulated data for drawing his own conclusions will find none whatever. In other words, though eminently readable, the book contributes much less than many readers might wish to an understanding of American business practices.

RALPH W. HIDY, *New York University*

OKLAHOMA: A HISTORY OF THE SOONER STATE. By *Edwin C. McReynolds.* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, pp. xii, 461, $4.95.) This is another of the scholarly histories of the American states. It is intended to be a "brief yet reasonably comprehensive account" from the first explorers to 1953. It contains a good short bibliography.

INCIDENTS OF TRAVEL AND ADVENTURE IN THE FAR WEST. By *Solomon Nunes Carvalho.* A Centenary Edition. Edited and with an Introduction by *Bertram Wallace Korn.* [The Jacob R. Schiff Library of Jewish Contributions to American Democracy.] (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954, pp. 328, $4.50.) Since its first appearance ninety-eight years ago, the *Incidents* of Solomon Nunes Carvalho's journey, the only record of the last expedition of John C. Frémont in the Far West, has become one of the classics of American exploration. The diary of Carvalho and his letters to his wife are the sources of this narrative, which has been republished several times. This present edition is particularly attractive, and the informative biographical introduction by Bertram W. Korn gives it additional importance. A special merit is the inclusion of examples of the author's artistic pursuits —portraits and paintings—which are typical of the mid-nineteenth century style.

CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER, *University of Arkansas*

BEYOND THE CROSS TIMBERS: THE TRAVELS OF RANDOLPH B. MARCY, 1812–1887. By *W. Eugene Hollon.* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1955, pp. xiii, 270, $4.00.) It seems strange that an army officer whose explorations in the trans-Mississippi West were so well known by the people of his generation should have failed to win a niche in history equal to Frémont or other explorers of the nineteenth century. This is further confounded by the fact that this officer, Randolph B. Marcy, was a prolific writer about his experiences and the West, having written three books and numerous articles. Two of his journals were edited by Grant Fore-

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man and published under the titles of *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* and *Adventure on Red River*. It is Hollon's point of view that Marcy deserves better of history for his contributions. Marcy was the first to explore the headwaters of the Red and Wichita rivers, the first to prepare accurate maps of the region beyond the Cross Timbers in central Oklahoma, the first to write extensively about the Southwest, and the officer whose winter trip from Fort Bridger to New Mexico in 1857–1858 stands as one of the great feats of exploration and travel. His journals and reports still stand as the principal source materials on the Southwest before the Civil War. But this is more than a book to place Marcy in a better historical focus. It is a full biography of an officer in the era when poor pay, slow promotions, and long separation from the family characterized army life. In a half century of service, Marcy not only led five exploring expeditions but also accompanied the army to Utah in the Mormon "uprising," served as chief of staff to his son-in-law, General George McClellan, in the Civil War, and occupied numerous other posts that took him over most of the nation. This biography, based on family correspondence as well as the official records and characterized by excellent style and balance, is a worth-while contribution.

WALKER D. WYMAN, *Wisconsin State College, River Falls*

WESTWARD THE WAY: THE CHARACTER AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LOUISIANA TERRITORY AS SEEN BY ARTISTS AND WRITERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Edited by *Perry T. Rathbone*. (St. Louis, City Art Museum in collaboration with the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 1954, pp. 280, $3.95.) This book was prepared, the introduction states, to honor an event of 150 years ago, the Louisiana Purchase, by selecting and interpreting pictures as "a visual-literary form"—whatever that may mean. The works of some 50 artists have been reproduced in 214 plates, 4 in color, the remainder in black and white, and small, about 3 by 5 inches being an average size. The illustrations have been selected apparently to depict life and its surroundings beyond the Mississippi from the time of the Louisiana Purchase until 1900. The "interpretation" consists in accompanying each plate with a brief contemporary quotation. In general the author of the quotation is not the artist represented by the accompanying picture. Many times little relevance exists between the illustration and the quotation. This book illustrates a point that the reviewer has been making now for some years, namely, that most historians, be they art historians or professional historians of other pedigree, have virtually no judgment when it comes to the use of pictures. Totally imaginary scenes are reproduced along with authentic eyewitness transcripts of events and scenes and no information is supplied to guide the reader in making a judgment. For example, the only picture to be reproduced in this book as a two-page spread (and in color) is Fanny Palmer's "Emigrants Crossing the Plains." It is doubtful if Fanny was ever west of the Hudson River, and the scene she depicts is totally imaginary and false; yet the claim is made that the artists whose work is reproduced were eyewitnesses to "the winning of the West." Although seven pages are devoted to "Biographies of the Artists," no sources of information upon which the biographies are based is given, an irritating omission as several artists are included about whom little is known. A "Catalogue" is supplied giving type, size, and owner of the picture reproduced. Even such information is open to suspicion. For example, plate 191 is called a lithograph on page 224, an engraving on page 270. As a matter of fact, the original was actually an engraving, probably based on a daguerreotype. One wonders, too, about the reliability of many other statements. For example, are the reproductions of the work of Samuel Seymour based on original water-colors or are they hand-colored copies of the black and white illus-

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trations that appeared in the James account of the Long expedition? A particularly irritating feature of the book is the lack of an index.

ROBERT TAFT, *University of Kansas*

THE POINT LOMA COMMUNITY IN CALIFORNIA, 1897–1942: A THEOSOPHICAL EXPERIMENT. By *Emmett A. Greenwalt.* [University of California Publications in History, Volume XLVIII.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1955, pp. xii, 236, cloth $3.50, paper $2.75.) America's freedom of association, characteristic optimism, and capacity for organization have, under conditions of duress, provided fertile ground for the multiplication of strange sects and the spawning of utopian colonies. Between 1850 and 1950 there grew up at least seventeen utopian societies in California alone. Most historians have heard of Theosophy, if at all, only in connection with its support of Edward Bellamy's Nationalist Clubs. Of the Point Loma community itself there have been only a few brief accounts, the best previously being in R. V. Hine's *California's Utopian Colonies.* Now Professor Greenwalt has written a full and careful narrative of the career and contribution of this separatist branch of Theosophy. As a religion Theosophy is derived from Indian philosophy, spiritualism, and simple Christian ethics. At Point Loma the influence of Katherine Tingley, the colony's autocratic ruler, shaped the community in the direction of her own practical bent as a social worker and educator with a keen taste for music, drama, and horticulture. Professor Greenwalt tells the story in scrupulous detail with an orthodox "objectivity" which, though praiseworthy for its fairness, avoids clear resolution of some controversial questions that have stirred around the colony and its dominating high priestess, whose early instability and dubious claims to occult communication invite psychological inquiry. Nor do we learn much here about what kinds of people are drawn to Point Loma and why they come, or about the social relations within the colony. Historical comparisons with other communities are sketched rather than explored. Though a welcome contribution to knowledge, this study has earmarks of the conventional dissertation wherein ideas, interpretation, and style are sacrificed to "science." But, as Carl Becker used to say, the trouble with so many contributions to knowledge is that they are made by scholars who know too many of the right answers without knowing enough of the right questions.

CUSHING STROUT, *Yale University*

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Latin-American History

Rollie E. Poppino[1]

GENERAL

HANDBOOK OF LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES. Number 17, 1951. Prepared by the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress. *Francisco Aguilera,* Editor; *Elsie Brown,* Acting Assistant Editor. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1954, pp. x, 305, $8.50.) The seventeenth annual *Handbook of Latin American Studies* brings together all important bibliography published in 1951 relating to Latin America. A corps of forty-four specialists in the humanities and social sciences selected and annotated a total of 3,198 items, which are arranged topically with geographic subdivisions. This *Handbook* maintains a tradition of bibliographic excellence. The *Handbook,* like the *Writings on American History,* has always had to forego timeliness; it sometimes takes two or more years for Latin American publications, many of them issued by authors privately, to arrive in the United States. The three- or four-year gap occurring between publication of the *Handbook* and the date of issue of its items is especially unfortunate for a bibliography which has several sections devoted preponderantly to the current scene. Many items in such categories as "Government" and "Economics" are now too outdated to warrant attention. Indeed, from the

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advanced viewpoint of four years, several items of continuing interest in these categories, e.g., C. H. Haring's analysis of the Brazilian presidential election of 1950, might more properly be placed in the category "Twentieth Century History." Perhaps the key to reconciling the dilemma of timeliness and definitive coverage lies in an innovation in this *Handbook:* the date of publication is now included in every citation. This device might be used to include, in a *Handbook* of a given year, citations of all important recent publications received during the preceding year—whatever the date of their publication. The subject index in the *Handbook* is a model of its kind. Mr. Francisco Aguilera and his assistant, Miss Elsie Brown, are to be congratulated on a meticulous job of editing. JOHN FINAN, *Library of Congress*

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COLONIAL PERIOD

LA SOCIÉTÉ COLONIALE AUX XVII[e] ET XVIII[e] SIÈCLES. Volume II, LES COLONS DE SAINT-DOMINGUE ET LA RÉVOLUTION: ESSAI SUR LE CLUB MASSIAC (AOÛT 1789–AOÛT 1792). By *Gabriel Debien*. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1953, pp. 411.) Like previous works from the pen of Gabriel Debien, this study of Saint-Domingue and its relations with the mother country on the eve of and during the French Revolution is scholarly and interesting. Very little has been done in recent years in this field, and this book will prove a useful guide to other scholars. The Société correspondante des colons français de Saint-Domingue was a group of proprietors of plantations in the French part (west) of the island. Some of these men lived permanently, or for long periods, on their estates, others were absentee landlords who left their affairs in the island to overseers—in some cases mulattoes related by blood to their employers. The society came into being in France for the purpose of protecting their interests, since the Creoles felt that France was neglecting them in the interest of her other commerce. They sought a continuation of their lucrative trade with the North American mainland, in opposition to a French monopoly, and they also constituted the principal opposition to the propaganda of the Société des Amis des Noirs. They managed to exercise a considerable influence on the first two revolutionary assemblies. As the Revolution progressed, there were uprisings in the islands, and the influence of the club declined as that of the Amis des Noirs increased. It collapsed on August 16, 1792, as officers and members attempted to burn their papers, only to be stopped in the midst of the process by the arrival of the police. The club took its name from its meeting-place in the Hôtel Massiac, Place des Victoires. There the agents of the police confiscated such records as had not been burned and used them to assist in hunting down persons who had concealed other papers. Tragic as this was for the Creoles involved, it is fortunate for scholars of today. In the Archives nationales one may examine all that remains, little in comparison with what was lost but much compared to losses in other documents. The author has rendered a valuable service in his bibliographical introduction. He has listed the documents he used in the Archives nationales, not only the records of the Club Massiac but administrative papers of colonial assemblies and of the ministry for the colonies. He has indicated available sources in the Chambres de Commerce of the great seaport towns, especially La Rochelle and Bordeaux. And he has put at our disposal his unique acquaintance with papers in the possession of descendants of the great Creole families, many of whom loaned their archives to him for this study.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUYNN, *Frederick, Maryland*

BIBLIOGRAFÍA MEXICANA DEL SIGLO XVI: CATÁLOGO RAZONADO DE LIBROS IMPRESOS EN MÉXICO DE 1539 A 1600, CON BIOGRAFÍAS DE AUTORES Y OTRAS ILLUSTRACIONES. By *Joaquín García Icazbalceta*. New Edition, by *Agustín Millares Carlo*. [Biblioteca Americana.] (Mexico, Fondo de cultura económica, 1954, pp. 581.) Researches in the history of early Mexican printing have for two generations depended upon García Icazbalceta's *Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVI* (1886) as a standard work of reference. Though outdated in detail and repeatedly shown to be incomplete, it has remained a monumental and comprehensive guide. Its compiler was the first in Latin America to adapt to Hispanic colonial materials the techniques and criteria of European bibliographical scholarship. García Icazbalceta's writing was always learned and urbane. His classic study of sixteenth-century Mexican bibliography now reappears in an improved and enlarged form. In the new edition the discoveries of José Toribio Medina, Nicolás León, Emilio Valtón,

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Henry R. Wagner, Agustín Millares Carlo, and others have been methodically incorporated. Some sixty titles have been added to the basic list of García Icazbalceta, the new material consisting mainly of short thesis publications of the 1580's and 1590's. The 1954 edition contains 150 illustrative plates as against the 50 of the edition of 1886 (not all of those 50 are included, however). García Icazbalceta's essays on medicine, silk culture, *auto da fe,* and other subjects—some tangential to the central theme—are retained, as are the important, and more germane, biographies of sixteenth-century writers. Where pertinent the entries are accompanied by statements on the present location of the particular copies cited by García Icazbalceta, and hundreds of additional notes embellish and modernize his earlier text. Appendixes list sixteenth-century publications mentioned in secondary references in the absence of known exemplars. An ample index greatly facilitates consultation. The edition is published in an issue of 2000 ordinary and 100 numbered copies, as compared with the original limited edition of 362. Exceptional care has been expended upon format: the volume is one of the handsomest products of Mexican publishing in recent years.

CHARLES GIBSON, *State University of Iowa*

THE CABILDO IN PERU UNDER THE HAPSBURGS: A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS AND POWER OF THE TOWN COUNCIL IN THE VICEROYALTY OF PERU, 1530–1700. By *John Preston Moore.* (Durham, Duke University Press, 1954, pp. viii, 310, $6.00.) This is an excellent work, based on extensive research in primary sources. Fundamental among them are the records of the town councils. Among these were the *libros del cabildo* of Quito and Guayaquil, of present-day Ecuador; of Lima, Arequipa, Trujillo, Jujuy, and Cuzco, of Peru; of Santiago, Chile; of Mendoza, Santiago del Estero, and Santa Fe, of Argentina; and of Montevideo, Uruguay. No mention is made in the preface of research in the countries which were parts of the former viceroyalty of Peru. However, such research, expensive and laborious as it would be, would probably have affected very little the findings of the work. The *cabildo,* or town council, was the sole institution of the Spanish system in the Americas where the inhabitants participated to any degree in their government, though participants in elections were rather scant in number. This study makes clear that the degree of democracy which actually did exist declined toward the conclusion of the period covered, the sale of offices being one of the means by which the alteration was effected. Moreover, the councils were seldom free from interference of the Spanish-appointed chief executive. The author states that the dominance of the aristocratic element in local affairs became more pronounced as time passed. It is made abundantly clear that "Love of representative government was not a feature of Hapsburg policy" (p. 122). As the functions of the *cabildo* were, in theory at least, broad, this study illustrates many features of the Spanish colonial system—relations between state and church, finances, land distribution, defense, trade, social welfare, Spanish-Indian relations, and many others. An entire chapter is devoted to the subject "Fiestas and Celebrations." The thoughtful reader will close this book with a feeling of amazement at the ignorance of economics and psychology which the Spanish government continually manifested in its relations with its American colonies. (He will also better understand some of the happenings in the "Good Neighbor" countries.) Says the author, "Surely the loyalty and attachment of the creoles to the mother country would have been far stronger had Spain sanctioned the survival of electoral liberties and rights on this primary stratum" (p. 281). In addition to excellence of content and organization, the author is to be congratulated on the quality of the English in which the book is written.

WATT STEWART, *State University of New York, Albany*

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NATIONAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

THE LIBERATORS OF MEXICO. By *John Anthony Caruso.* (New York, Pageant Press, 1954, pp. 342, $4.50.) The author, associate professor of history at West Virginia University, has done a skillful job of relating the independence movement as seen in the lives of its three principal leaders, Hidalgo, Morelos, and Iturbide. It is a work reminiscent of the broader and older, but still useful, work of William Spence Robertson, *The Rise of the Spanish-American Republics as Told in the Lives of Their Liberators,* of which, incidentally, the author has made valuable use. In general, Professor Caruso has used the printed sources, both primary and secondary, to give a well-balanced account. He makes no claim to original research but has done a careful job, for the most part, in canvassing the state of our knowledge in respect to controversial questions, of which there are many, in the lives of these three Mexican liberators (e.g., the question of Morelos having been a student of Hidalgo). His book is judicious, free of prejudice in its evaluative comments, and generally well written. On the whole, it is a welcome addition to the list of good books in English for the serious general reader or student of Mexican history. But the reader finds, nevertheless, a considerable number of poor or awkward sentences that could have been improved by more careful editing. The sketch of Iturbide is somewhat less satisfactory than the others, partly, perhaps, because the author made no use of William Spence Robertson's *Iturbide* (1952). Harold E. Davis, *American University*

JOSE AUGUSTÍN CABALLERO Y LOS ORIGENES DE LA CONCIENCIA CUBANA. By *Roberto Agramonte.* (Havana, Biblioteca del Departamento de Intercambio cultural, Universidad de la Habana, 1952, pp. x, 403.) Cuba completed its first half century as an independent state in 1952. Perhaps it is the consciousness of national youth that has recently motivated a number of Cuban writers to search for the intellectual and psychological origins of the Cuban nation and to try to define its characteristics. The nineteenth century in Cuba was one of political and intellectual turmoil during which an elite, as well prepared as their colleagues in the mother country,

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debated and struggled to determine the future form of the Cuban state: whether it was to be independent, annexed to the United States, or an autonomous dominion of Spain. It was quite evident that this elite had attained its intellectual majority and no longer needed the tutelage of Spain. In fact, it saw that what it sought Spain itself did not have to give. It is necessary, therefore, to go farther back to find the precursors who enabled nineteenth-century Cubans to contend on such a high level of culture and political consciousness. Dr. Agramonte, as do most Cuban scholars, finds the principal intellectual liberator of Cuba in the Augustinian, Father José A. Caballero (1762–1835). Principally an analysis of Cabellero's thought and influence, Agramonte's book is a thorough and documented work which does much to clarify the Cuban picture during the decades when the enlightenment of the eighteenth century reached Spain's American empire. Caballero, an able coadjutor of the liberal captain-general, Luis de las Casas, did much to close the intellectual gap between Cuba and Europe and to break down archaic colonial barriers to progress. As professor of philosophy in the Royal Seminary-College of San Carlos, his principal struggle was with the continuing effects of Scholasticism, but, as an active member of the Sociedad económica and collaborator in the *Papel periódico,* his influence extended to many other aspects of the island's life: public education, social customs and welfare, political institutions. Cuban-born, as were his parents, Caballero gave a local application to his writings that did much to awaken patriotism. Like the precursors of independence in other Spanish-American states, his personal influence shaped a number of leaders to continue his work. Father Félix Varela, who died in exile in Florida for his vigorous support of liberal ideas during the early nineteenth century, was his student; José de la Luz Caballero, his nephew whose education he personally directed, was Cuba's great educator during the nineteenth century. Agramonte not only traces the philosophical currents that Caballero caused to flow through Cuba (Locke, Descartes, etc.) but relates his efforts to the rest of Spanish America where a similar process of academic liberation was in progress. Ample footnotes make the book usable as a guide to any of the numerous topics treated. ROBERT E. MCNICOLL, *Havana, Cuba*

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SOUTH AMERICA

THE SANTANDER REGIME IN GRAN COLOMBIA. By *David Bushnell.* [University of Delaware Monograph Series, No. 5.] (Newark, University of Delaware Press, 1954, pp. ix, 381.) In brief, Professor Bushnell endeavors to set forth the main currents of Gran Colombian domestic history for the years 1821–1827. He employs a topical approach stressing politics and politicians, trade and economic developments, education, emancipation of the slaves, religion, the presence of the army and military claims, disaffection in Venezuela and Ecuador, and the Bolívar-Santander differences of 1826–1827. This "fairly broad though detailed survey of the domestic scene" (p. v) depicts the attempts of Francisco de Paula Santander and his liberal cohorts to enforce the constitution of 1821 and those laws which were designed to make of Colombia a nation. Custom, lack of experienced personnel, domestic and foreign debts, regionalism, corruption, caste, a large army, and the newly won freedoms of speech and press seemingly conspired to make difficult, and in many respects impossible, the transition from monarchy to republic. Patterns for future development, however, were formulated. Representative government, complete emancipation, a separate judiciary, tariff reduction, Indian tribute elimination, a public school system, foreign economic penetration, and state control of the church constituted some of the liberal measures of the day that were to mature in other years. No other work in English or Spanish transgresses this book. Its author is to be commended for his industry; yet the result is not without faults. Santander, his principal ministers of state, and congressional and departmental heads, with the exception of José Antonio Páez, lack character delineation. In a land and time when personality predominated, the men who were the regime are submerged in a welter of governmental and legislative mechanics. Moreover, the dominant figure of the period, Simón Bolívar, is relegated to the final chapters, although his influence permeated the entire Santander regime. By deliberate design neither the war for independence nor foreign relations are treated; therefore the major achievements of the regime—freedom from Spain and foreign recognition—are not recorded. Even though the volume "does not pretend to be a definitive treatment . . . or [a study] of the whole administration of Vice-President Santander" (p. v) these lacunae mar the interpretations and generalizations contained therein. The author has made frequent use of pamphlets, newspapers, and published laws and

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decrees. His reliance on manuscripts from the Archivo del Congreso in Bogotá has hampered his efforts to clarify the workings of the government and led him to conclusions that might have been altered had he relied more heavily on the ministerial sources in the Archivo Nacional of Colombia.

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Historical News

American Historical Association

The names of A. Paul Levack, professor of history at Fordham University, and Thomas P. Robinson, of New York University, were inadvertently omitted from the list of members of the local arrangements committee in the report of the December meeting of the American Historical Association which appeared in the April issue of the *Review*.

Joseph R. Barager has resigned and Rollie E. Poppino has succeeded him as compiler of the bibliographical lists for Latin-American history in the "Other Recent Publications."

Other Historical Activities

Significant additions have been made to the Naval Historical Foundation Collection, which is in the Library of Congress on long-term deposit. Included are some 6,000 papers of Captain Washington I. Chambers, pioneer in naval aviation, covering the period from 1872, when he was a student at the U. S. Naval Academy, to the time of his death in 1934; more than 3,000 papers of Admiral Charles O'Neil, chief of the Bureau of Ordnance during the Spanish-American War, which are composed of correspondence, scrapbooks, and forty volumes of his diaries covering the years 1872 to 1927; papers of Admiral Henry Clay Taylor which concern primarily the period 1897–99, while he was in command of the battleship *Indiana;* and seventeen diaries of Admiral Albert Gleaves, for the years 1902–36, during which he originated and developed the practice of fueling ships at sea, and organized and directed United States convoy operations in the Atlantic in World War I.

The Library's collections of material relating to American religious history have been enriched by a gift of about 12,000 papers of Charles Henry Brent, bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church. These papers, which include his diaries, memoirs, and sermons, as well as an extensive correspondence, cover the years 1890 to 1929. They reflect his work among the underprivileged when he was in charge of St. Stephen's Church in south Boston and during the time he was first missionary bishop to the Philippine Islands (1901–18), his service as chief of chaplains of the American Expeditionary Force in France during World War I, his work at various international opium conferences, and his accomplishments in the field of Christian unity.

Shortly before his death on December 3, 1954, Nelson Trusler Johnson presented to the Library a large group of his personal papers, covering his career in the foreign service from 1922 to 1937. During this period, Johnson served in the Far East on assignment to the Inspection District of Eastern Asia (1922–

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25); in Washington as chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs (1925–27) and Assistant Secretary of State (1927–29); and again in the Far East, from 1930, as envoy extraordinary, minister plenipotentiary, and, finally, ambassador to China. His personal appraisals of the situation in the East up to mid-July, 1937, are contained in letters to Josephus Daniels, Stephen Duggan, Joseph C. Grew, Thomas Lamont, and others. It is hoped that additional Johnson papers will be received soon. The Library has also received a first installment of the papers of Stanley Washburn, author and newspaper correspondent, as a gift from Mrs. Washburn. This first group, which consists mainly of letters written by Washburn, will provide the student of recent history with a wide range of contemporary comment on events in Europe, and particularly in Russia, between 1914 and 1943.

A collection of records of the National Child Labor Committee and related materials was presented to the Library as part of the committee's fiftieth anniversary celebration. The gift includes minutes of meetings of the board of trustees, 1904–45; stenographic reports of proceedings of the committee's annual conferences, 1905–16; minutes of meetings, 1916–18, of the National Aid to Education Committee (organized in 1916 to promote federal aid to elementary education); and field notes and reports of field studies concerning child labor in many types of industry, among them, street trades, night messenger service, canneries, cotton mills, and tenement home work.

The May, 1955, issue of the Library of Congress *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* contains a comprehensive report on materials added to the holdings of the Manuscripts Division during calendar year 1954.

Among recent publications of the National Archives are *Federal Population Censuses, 1840–80: A Price List of Microfilm Copies of Original Schedules* and seven more "Preliminary Inventories": No. 76, *Records of United States Participation in International Conferences, Commissions, and Expositions,* compiled by H. Stephen Helton; No. 77, *Records of the War Relocation Authority,* compiled by Estelle Rebec and Martin Rogin; No. 78, *Records of the National War Labor Board (World War II),* compiled by Estelle Rebec; No. 79, *Records of the Commission of Fine Arts,* compiled by Richard S. Maxwell; No. 80, *Records of Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives relating to an Investigation of the War Department, 1934–36;* compiled by George P. Perros; No. 81, *Cartographic Records of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior,* compiled by Laura E. Kelsay; No. 82, *Records of the Bureau of the Second Assistant Postmaster General, 1814–1946,* compiled by Arthur Hecht. "Archival Principles: Selections from the Writings of Waldo Gifford Leland" is the title of a brochure issued by the National Archives as one of its Staff Information Papers (No. 20, March, 1955). It consists of excerpts from Dr. Leland's writings and speeches 1909–1921, and concludes with a postscript written by Dr. Leland in 1955.

The American Antiquarian Society has completed Evans' *American Bibliography* by the publication of Volume XIII carrying the work through the year

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1800. Evans himself in his later years realized that the production of the American press in the nineteenth century had become so voluminous that it was no longer feasible to describe it with the thoroughness of his earlier volumes, an idea with which the present editors thoroughly concur. There is, however, a project afoot to fill the gap between Evans and Roorbach by a short-title catalogue.

A Bibliography on South American Economic Affairs: Articles in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals, compiled by Tom B. Jones, Elizabeth Anne Warburton, and Anne Kingsley, has recently appeared under the imprint of the University of Minnesota Press. In progress since 1948, the *Bibliography* contains 9,939 entries grouped under eleven major headings: South America, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Under each of the major headings are nine subheadings: agriculture (and grazing), commerce, communications, finance, immigration, industry, labor, mining, and transportation.

Parts of the German Foreign Ministry Archives, now housed at Whaddon Hall near Bletchley, Bucks, England, are being microfilmed by the General Library of the University of California, Berkeley. Since material after 1920 falls within the competence of the editors of the *Documents on German Foreign Policy,* the library's selections are being made from the period 1867–1920, a high proportion of which was not published in *Die Grosse Politik*. Documents filmed so far are in the Bismarck period, Anglo-German and German-American relations. They also include important areas of German internal relations and of relations with other countries including Russia and China. The files concerning Germany's relations with Russia, Austria, and Italy for the period 1867 to 1914 are being systematically screened and filmed. The Bancroft Library, research center of Western history and literature in the General Library, Berkeley, has participated in the program by microfilming important areas of German relations with Mexico and Central America. In May of 1954 the Bancroft Library began a project that will film all the materials in the volumes relating to South American countries listed in the *Altes Repertorium*. Copies of the microfilms made under both projects will be available from the Library Photographic Service, University of California, Berkeley 4, California.

A new edition of the political writings of Freiherr vom Stein will be published in 1957, the two hundredth anniversary of his birth. They will be edited by Erich Botzenhart, the editor of the first edition. Publication will be undertaken by Kohlhammer Verlag of Stuttgart.

The Columbia University Press recently announced plans to prepare and publish translations of many key documents of Oriental history hitherto available to only a few scholars. Publication will be made possible over a five-year period by a grant of $100,000 from the Carnegie Corporation. The new series will be

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under the editorship of the board, headed by Jacques Barzun, which for many years has supervised the publication of the well-known series of translations of historic Western documents, "Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies." The editorial policy of the Far Eastern series will be similar to that of the Western series: "to make accessible in English representative texts which may aid in an understanding of the past; through careful introductions and commentaries, to bring within the reach of the reader who is not a specialist the fruits of modern scholarship; and to furnish bibliographical guidance to those who may wish to push their studies further."

The secretary of state of Louisiana has initiated a survey of state and local records with a view to determining their condition, location, and availability. Professor Edwin Adams Davis of Louisiana State University has been designated chief consultant, and John C. L. Andreassen, once director of the Historical Records Survey in Louisiana and recently director of administration in the Library of Congress, has been named associate director.

The commission on research of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, 535 West 123d Street, New York 27, as part of its regular program, is compiling a continuing bibliography of social scientific studies in all aspects of American Jewish life. Scholars and communal agencies are requested to forward information about recent or current studies, published or unpublished.

Dr. Jennings B. Sanders of the U. S. Office of Education has recently published the paper he read at the 1954 annual meeting of the American Historical Association ("College Social Sciences: A Statistical Evaluation with Special Reference to History," *Higher Education,* April, 1955, pp. 109–13). According to Dr. Sanders, college enrollments in history in the spring term in 1954 totaled 448,000, about forty-three per cent of the number enrolled in economics, political science, sociology, and history. During the period from 1950 to 1954 as the college population decreased, history enrollments showed a decline of only about eight per cent while the declines in economics, political science, and sociology ran from twenty-five to thirty per cent. In the fall of 1954 about forty-one per cent of the history enrollment was in United States history, forty-nine per cent in European and English, and ten per cent in "other" (Latin American, etc.) history. When total enrollments were decreasing, from 1950 to 1953, there was a twenty-nine per cent decline in the number of bachelor's degrees in history (smaller decline than economics, but somewhat larger in percentage than sociology and political science). But a major problem will arise in 1956, when the great influx of students begins. If, in 1952–1953, 301 students completed their Ph.D.'s in history and if perhaps a quarter of them did not stay in teaching, then 600 or more could be needed in 1970, when enrollments might be doubled. (See also A.C.L.S. estimate, *AHR,* July, 1954, p. 1069.)

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The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its forty-eighth annual meeting at the Jefferson Hotel in St. Louis on April 28–30. At some thirty-four sessions historians from all over the country presented papers on many aspects of American history and on the teaching and writing of history. Walter Prescott Webb's presidential address, read at the annual dinner, was entitled "The Historical Seminar: Its Outer Shell and Inner Spirit." Officers elected for the coming year are Edward C. Kirkland, Bowdoin College, president; Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky, vice-president; James C. Olson continues as secretary-treasurer and William C. Binkley as managing editor of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

The Midwest Conference on Business History, sponsored by the School of Business Administration and the Bureau of Business Research of the University of Michigan, met in Ann Arbor November 20, 1954. The purpose of the conference was to discuss the teaching and writing of business history. One result of the meeting was the decision to prepare a brochure on the teaching of business history to be distributed to those interested. This project is under the direction of A. K. Steigerwalt, University of Michigan.

A European history breakfast conference will be held during the annual convention of the Southern Historical Association, Memphis, Tennessee, November 10, 1955. Anyone who teaches ancient, medieval, modern European, or English history in colleges and universities in the southern region of the United States, as well as graduate students in these fields, is invited to attend. European scholars who may be visiting in American institutions during the fall of 1955 are also invited. Those who plan to attend the conference are requested to notify John L. Snell, Tulane University, by October 10, 1955, so that final arrangements may be made.

Wendell Holmes Stephenson, professor of history in the University of Oregon, delivered the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History in March, 1955, at the Louisiana State University. His subject was "Pioneer Historians of the South."

Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University gave the Taft Memorial Lectures at the University of Cincinnati in February, 1955. His topic was "Savagery vs. Civilization in the Far West."

Just at the time when special efforts were being made at Cornell University to secure funds with which to publish results of current and recent research in the social sciences came announcement of an endowment of a quarter of a million dollars for the publication of "books or articles written by members of the University . . . in the field of liberal studies; history and political science, philosophy, language and literature. . . ." Upon the end of certain trusts the fund will be further augmented by half as much again. The Hull Publication Memorial

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Fund was devised to the university by Miss Mary J. Hull, sister of Charles Henry Hull, professor of American history at Cornell from 1901 to 1931. Professor Hull was active in the American Historical Association over many years, as member of the Executive Council, the Winsor Prize Committee, the Program Committee and the Nominating Committee.

The University of Pennsylvania has received a grant of $113,000 from the Richardson Foundation, Inc., Greensboro, North Carolina, for the establishment of a foreign policy research institute. The operations of the institute will be guided by a senior staff conference which will instruct a small research group consisting of post-graduate research associates and graduate fellows. The head of the institute will be Dr. Robert Strausz-Hupé, professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania and chairman of its graduate program in international relations.

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation grants for 1955 have been awarded to the following scholars in history and related fields: Norman Francis Furniss, Colorado A. and M. College, History of the Mormon War, 1857–58; William Kendrick Pritchett, University of California, Berkeley, Ancient Greek battles and battlefields; James Frank Gilliam, State University of Iowa, The auxiliaries of the Roman imperial army; Shelby Foote, Memphis, Tennessee, The American Civil War as seen from the point of view of participants; Frank E. Vandiver, Washington University, The campaigns and life of General Stonewall Jackson; Stanley K. Hornbeck, Washington, D. C., Studies in the recent history of eastern Asia and of developments in the field of United States foreign relations and policy in the twentieth century; Friedrich Engel-Janosi, Catholic University of America, Relations between the Vatican and the Habsburg Monarchy; Goldwin Smith, Wayne University, Canadian reaction to the foreign policy of the United States, 1945–55; H. Duncan Hall, British Embassy, Washington, D. C., History of the British Commonwealth of Nations; Edward C. Kirkland, Bowdoin College, Attitudes and policies of the business community in the United States, 1860–1900; John M. Letiche, University of California, Berkeley, History of economic thought from mercantilism to laissez-faire; Warren C. Scoville, University of California, Los Angeles, History of the French Council of Trade; Gaines Post, University of Wisconsin, Legal and canonical influences upon the theory and practice of representative assemblies in the thirteenth century; A. Arthur Schiller, Columbia University, Development of the law of Rome into the law of the Roman Empire, in the period 117–235 A.D.; Brian Tierney, Catholic University of America, Ecclesiastical law in relation to the relief of poverty in the Middle Ages; John Frank Cady, Ohio University, Political history of Burma; Shou-yi Ch'en, Pomona College, History of early cultural relations between Asia and the West; John R. Alden, University of Nebraska, The South during the period of the American Revolution; Thomas B. Alexander, Georgia State Teachers College, Studies of the persistence of the principles of the American Whigs, 1860–1900;

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In the last five years the Fund for the Advancement of Education (Ford

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Foundation) has given 141 fellowships to college and university faculty members in history. Eighteen in history (out of a total for all fields of 138) have been awarded for 1955–56. These are: John Higham, Rutgers University; Richard Schlatter, Rutgers University; John B. Christopher, University of Rochester; James T. Liu, University of Pittsburgh; Emma Lou Thornbrough, Butler University; Leland P. Johnson, Drake University; Goldwin Smith, Wayne University; Glen R. Driscoll, University of South Dakota; Fred H. Harrington, University of Wisconsin; John A. Harrison, University of Florida; Harold A. Bierck, Jr., University of North Carolina; Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., Vanderbilt University; Archibald R. Lewis, University of Texas; Stewart Oost, Southern Methodist University; Rodman W. Paul, California Institute of Technology; Edward Tannenbaum, Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College; William A. Williams, University of Oregon; and Scott H. Lytle, University of Washington.

The 1954 Bancroft Prizes, given annually by Columbia University "for distinguished writings in American history," have been awarded to Leonard D. White for *The Jacksonians: A Study in Administrative History, 1829–1861* (Macmillan) and Paul Horgan for *Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History* (Rinehart).

The Pulitzer Prizes in history and biography for 1954 went to Paul Horgan for his *Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History* and William S. White for his *The Taft Story*.

Conyers Read, professor emeritus in the University of Pennsylvania, won the Folger Library prize in the field of history for his book manuscript "Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth."

The Minnesota Historical Society has established the Solon J. Buck Award, to be granted each year to the author of the best article published in *Minnesota History,* the society's quarterly magazine, which was founded by Dr. Buck in 1915. The winner of the award for 1954 was Francis Paul Prucha, author of "Minnesota 100 Years Ago as Seen by Laurence Oliphant."

The winner of the Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society for 1955 was Dr. G. F. E. Rudé for his essay "The Gordon Riots: A Study of the Rioters and Their Victims." Essays for the 1956 competition must be sent in by January 31, 1956. For further particulars apply to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, London, S.W.10.

Waldo G. Leland is engaged in preparing a brief biography of J. Franklin Jameson for Volume XXII of the *Dictionary of American Biography* and would be glad to hear from anyone who may have interesting and significant recollections of Dr. Jameson and his work. Letters may be addressed to 1219 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

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Edgar B. Wesley, as centennial historian of the National Education Association, 1857–1957, is eager to secure sidelights and anecdotes about well-known educators. Any help that *Review* readers give him will be gratefully received and discreetly utilized. His address is P.O. Box 1201, Los Altos, California.

The Asia Foundation is asking for books, especially textbooks, in the social sciences and humanities for distribution to Asian professors and students. Except for basic useful books, the date of printing is specified as after 1946. Those wishing to donate books should send them by the least expensive way to: Warehouse, The Asia Foundation, 21 Drumm Street, San Francisco, California. The Foundation, a private, non-profit organization with representatives in twelve countries, will pay the costs of transportation to Asia and distribute the books where they will be most helpful.

Personal

Appointments and Staff Changes[1]

Margaret Buss Des Champs, assistant professor of history in Agnes Scott College, has been granted a fellowship by the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., to study in Scotland in 1955–56.

Lowell Ragatz, on leave from the Ohio State University, is serving as visiting professor of history at the Australian National University in Canberra through December, 1955.

René Albrecht-Carrié has been promoted to professor of history in Barnard College and named chairman of the department.

The Brown University department of history announces that Donald H. Fleming has been promoted to a professorship, and David S. Lovejoy has been appointed assistant professor.

Raymond Walters will retire on September 1 after twenty-three years as president of the University of Cincinnati. Walter C. Langsam, now president of Gettysburg College, will succeed him.

Douglass Adair, presently associate professor of history in the College of William and Mary and editor of the *William and Mary Quarterly,* has accepted appointment as professor of American history in the Claremont Graduate School. His new duties begin in September.

Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, former minister of education in Pakistan, has been

[1] In the interests of saving space, the *Review's* policy is not to print personals concerning summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations. The *Review* will continue to print news of appointments, promotions, and retirements.

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appointed visiting professor of history in the Near and Middle East Institute of Columbia University.

The Council on Foreign Relations announces the appointment of Philip E. Mosely as director of studies and of John C. Campbell as director of political studies.

Ann Beck, formerly of the University of Connecticut, has been appointed associate professor of history in Detroit Institute of Technology.

Joseph C. Robert is resigning the presidency of Coker College to become president of Hampden-Sidney College on August 1.

Frank Freidel, formerly of Stanford University, has been appointed professor of history in Harvard University, effective July 1. He will be on leave of absence at Oxford during the coming year. Myron Gilmore has succeeded David Owen as chairman of the department of history at Harvard.

Clanton W. Williams has resigned his professorship in the University of Alabama to accept the post of vice-president in charge of academic affairs in the University of Houston.

In the department of history in Hunter College Abbie T. Scudi has been promoted to full professor, Thomas B. Davis, Jr., to associate professor, and Louis Hallgring, Jr., to assistant professor.

At La Sierra College, Arlington, California, Wilfred J. Airey is chairman of the division of social studies; Charles B. Hirsch has been promoted to associate professor of history and political science and named chairman of the newly formed department of social sciences; and Frederick G. Hoyt has been appointed instructor in history and sociology.

At Mercer University, Malcolm Lester, professor of history, has been appointed dean of the College of Liberal Arts.

A. C. Krey retired from the University of Minnesota in June. His successor is Robert S. Hoyt, formerly of the State University of Iowa.

Elmer Ellis has been named president of the University of Missouri. Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences since 1946, Dr. Ellis has been acting president since last September.

Lacey Baldwin Smith, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, will go to Northwestern University in the fall as associate professor of history. Clarence L. Ver Steeg has been promoted to associate professor at Northwestern.

Albert Norman has been promoted to associate professor of history in Norwich University.

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John E. Selby, formerly of Brown University, has been appointed instructor in history at the University of Oregon.

Kenneth M. Setton, professor of medieval history in Columbia University, has been named director of libraries, University of Pennsylvania.

Russell J. Ferguson has been named chairman of the department of history in the University of Pittsburgh.

John H. Gleason of Pomona College will be on sabbatical leave during the year 1955–56. He will go to England to carry on his study of the British justices of the peace in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the department of history at Princeton University Eric Goldman has been promoted to professor and Robert A. Lively, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed assistant professor.

William M. Pearce, chairman of the department of history in the Texas Technological College, has been appointed to a three-man advisory committee to assist in a cattle industry research study recently undertaken by the State Historical Society of Colorado and supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

A. Stanley Trickett, formerly president of Kansas Wesleyan University and professor of history, is now executive director of the Association of Non-Tax-Supported Colleges and Universities in Washington, Inc., Seattle.

Gabriel Jackson has left Goddard College to accept an instructorship in the department of history of Wellesley College.

Helen Adams Nutting has been promoted to associate professor of history in Wells College.

George L. Mosse left the State University of Iowa in June to become a member of the department of history of the University of Wisconsin.

Recent Deaths

Summerfield Baldwin III, chairman of the department of history in the University of Akron, died suddenly on January 15 at the age of fifty-eight. Dr. Baldwin received his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1928, and taught at Seton College and at Western Reserve University before going to Akron in 1943. Among his publications are *The Organization of Medieval Christianity* (1929) and *Business in the Middle Ages* (1937).

Marie Goebel Kimball, member of a distinguished academic family, died in Philadelphia on March 2. She was graduated in 1911 from the University of Illinois, where her father was head of the Department of German. She married

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M. Fiske Kimball in 1913 and began a long, happy, and mutually stimulating partnership. As wife of a brilliant and versatile teacher, architect, art historian, and museum director, Marie Kimball found in her husband's manifold interests and in his prideful confidence in her a never-failing stimulus to creative scholarship. As a Philadelphia hostess presiding with wit and charm over "Lemon Hill," Robert Morris' elegant seat on the Schuylkill, she made her dinners famous. Besides leaving her guests with the happiest of memories, she became an authority on French and American cuisine of the eighteenth century and—turning a chatelaine's duty into a historical adventure—published *Thomas Jefferson's Cook Book* in 1938 and *Martha Washington's Cook Book* in 1940. Her travels, research, and associations in the world of art, music, and history also resulted in some fiction and a large number of essays in the *North American Review,* the *Virginia Quarterly,* and other reviews. She also wrote for such popular journals as the *Saturday Evening Post,* whose stipends characteristically supported her favorite charities or her more serious scholarship. Her crowning achievement was her biography of Thomas Jefferson. The first volume, *Jefferson: The Road to Glory,* appeared in 1943; the second, *Jefferson: War and Peace,* in 1947; and the third, *Jefferson: The Scene of Europe,* in 1950. All of these were marked by fresh investigations of the sources and the last is the fullest and most authoritative account of Jefferson's years in France. This ambitious undertaking was carried forward with heroic courage in spite of the grave shadow hanging over her last years. Her friends and admirers will not be surprised to learn that her indomitable will carried her to the triumphant completion of a fourth and final volume.

Allan Chester Johnson, for thirty-seven years a member of the department of classics in Princeton University, died March 2 at the age of seventy-three. A native of Nova Scotia, Dr. Johnson graduated from Dalhousie University in Halifax in 1904 and received the Ph.D. from the Johns Hopkins University in 1909. After several years of research in Athens and a year of lecturing at the University of Alberta, he was called to Princeton in 1912. In 1923 he was appointed Musgrave professor of Latin and in 1943 Andrew Fleming West professor of classics. For many years he was a trustee, and from 1940 to 1945 the chairman, of the American Academy in Rome. He was also a member of the managing committee of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. He retired from teaching in 1949. Besides his contributions to many scholarly journals and his *Roman Egypt* (1936), he was co-author or editor of a number of works, including (with Louis C. West) *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (1944). He had been the general editor of the "Princeton University Studies in Papyrology" since 1934.

Elizabeth Donnan, professor of economics emeritus in Wellesley College, died in Washington on March 15. A native of Ohio she graduated from Cornell University in 1908, and in 1911 she became a member of John Franklin Jame-

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son's staff of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, serving until 1919 as editorial assistant of the *American Historical Review,* and as compiler and editor of *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade [1544–1808],* Volumes I–IV (Carnegie Institution, 1930–35). Upon retirement from her Wellesley professorship, she devoted her chief attention to selecting and editing, with the late Dr. Leo F. Stock, a large and representative collection of Jameson's letters which is shortly to be published by the American Philosophical Society. An interesting by-product of this labor was her article "A Nineteenth-Century Academic Cause Célèbre," printed in the *New England Quarterly* of March, 1952. This deals with the leadership of Jameson in 1897, then professor of history in Brown University, in the protests of faculty, alumni, and others to the Corporation of the university respecting its position on the resignation of President E. Benjamin Andrews, who had been an advocate of bimetallism in 1896. At the time of her death Miss Donnan was arranging the papers of Jameson, including a substantial part of the files of the Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution, 1903–1928, for transfer to the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress.

Justice Jesse C. Adkins, retired Washington jurist and professor of law, died March 28 at seventy-five. He was a life member of the American Historical Association, having been nominated by J. Franklin Jameson in 1927.

Rufus Kay Wyllys, chairman of the department of social studies at Arizona State College, Tempe, since 1930, died April 15. He was fifty-seven. Dr. Wyllys received his Ph.D. degree from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1929. Among his publications were *The French in Sonora* (1932), *Pioneer Padre: The Story of Father Kino* (1935), and *Arizona: The History of a Frontier State* (1950). He contributed reviews to this journal and had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1923.

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Volume LX

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